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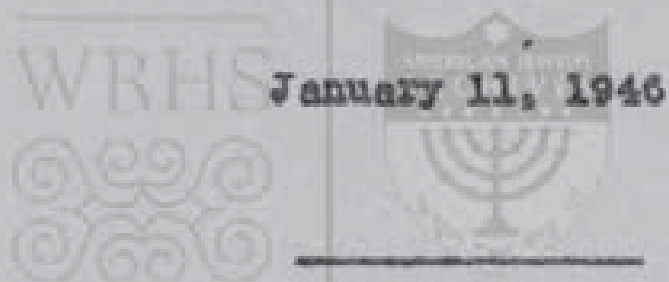
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Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, 1950 January 11.

HEARING BEFORE THE
ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

State Department Building



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HEARINGS BEFORE THE
ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Held in Room 474 of the Department of State Bldg.

Friday, January 11, 1946

MORNING SESSION

APPEARANCES

Doctor Phillip Hitti, Representing The Institute of
Arab American Affairs

Doctor John G. Hazam, Representing The Institute of
Arab American Affairs

PROCEEDINGS

(The hearing convened at 10:10 am.)

MR. ROOD: The Institute of Arab American Affairs,
Doctor Philip Hitti.

STATEMENT OF DOCTOR PHILIP HITTI

REPRESENTING THE INSTITUTE OF ARAB AMERICAN AFFAIRS

DR. HITTI: Mr. Chairman, Sir Singleton, and Members of the Committee, may I be permitted at the very outset to state that we consider it a great privilege to present the other side of the story. This is not usually done, so this is really very unusual, especially before this Committee, which has raised the issue to an international level.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Professor, could I ask you before beginning, not to the full extent of your autobiography, but briefly to state what you are doing and a little bit about yourself.

DR. HITTI: I was born in Lebanon, educated in the American University at Beirut and Columbia University. In both of those I was later connected as teacher, and now I am professor of Semitic literature at Princeton University. I am a naturalized American citizen. Are there other questions, sir?

JUDGE HUTCHESON: No, sir; that is all right.

DR. HITTI: My interest in the Near East has been mostly from the historical point of view. It is my purpose,

therefore, this morning to examine first the historical argument which is presented by the political Zionists. I shall examine and analyze that before I examine the second argument which is usually presented, which might be termed the religious argument.

As I understand the historical argument presented by the Zionists, it has three elements; three factors are involved. Firstly, the occupation of the land under Moses and Joshua; secondly, the establishment of a kingdom under Saul, David, and Solomon; thirdly, the continued settlement after the destruction of Jerusalem.

All three facts are historically sound.

The Arabs have a rebuttal, however, to that, which runs something like this:

You came from outside and occupied a land which was already occupied by peoples, Semitic peoples, called Amorites and Canaanites and by other Semites from whom we are descended. It is true that you established there a United Kingdom, but that lasted for only a very short interval. It was Saul who began that Kingdom about the year 1020 B.C. We are not sure of the dates, but that may be as good a date as you can guess on.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: May I interrupt you. What religious affiliation have you? And let me ask you as an old scholar,

are you a Hittite because your name is Hitti?

DR. HITTI: I sometimes claim that, but I cannot prove it!

(Laughter)

DR. HITTI: As for the religious affiliation, sir, many have asked me that question, and thought I was converted by Missionaries. Let me say that the Christians of Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine are the oldest in the world. We were Christian before you, Mr. Chairman, and your ancestors ever heard of Christ.

(Laughter)

I often also claim having come from that part of the world which is sometimes called Syria, and therefore we are sometimes called descendants of the Assyrians. Besides, it is true that there is a Hittite element today in the population of Palestine.

All you have to do is to read your Old Testament carefully to see that the early patriarchs of the Jewish people married Hittite wives, not excluding David!

(Laughter)

This Hebrew Kingdom, the Arabs continue to say--and the Arabs will be delighted at anytime to be interrupted in their argument by the Honorable Chairman--lasted for only a short time, which began with Saul in 1020, and which ended with Solomon about 930 B.C. Even Saul we are not sure was a sovereign king in the full sense of the term.

The name Palestine, by the way, is not a Hebrew word; it isn't a Semitic word. It perpetuates the name of those Indo-Europeans who came and occupied the coast from the Aegean Sea about 1225 B.C., which is the time when the Jews came from Egypt under the leadership of Moses and then Joshua.

After Solomon, the Jewish Kingdom was divided into two parts—one in the north with Samaria for the capital, which was destroyed in 722 B.C., and the southern kingdom was destroyed in 586 B.C. by Nebuchadnezzar. Since that time, since 586 B.C. and 722 B.C., there has been no Jewish kingdom in Palestine in the full sense of the term.

There were times in which the national life of the Jews flared up, as under Nebuchadnezzar, and then under the Romans, and then there was another flare-up which was destroyed by the Romans who destroyed the Temple. Therefore, the Arabs maintain that for the last 2,000 years--for the last two million years--there has not been a Jewish state in Palestine, and there has not been a Jewish majority in Palestine. That is the historical fact which any student of history maintains.

This may sound like an academic discussion, but the Zionists base their case upon the fact that they once controlled Palestine. Three Zionist spokesmen, Mr. Chairman,

according to the reports in the paper, appeared here this week and claimed the restoration of Palestine by right and not sufferance. They want to do some restoration. The Arabs would like to do some restoration, too. They would like to restore their authority over Spain, which they controlled much later than the time in which the Jews controlled Palestine and for a much longer period.

The Joint Resolution in the Congress, which was introduced January 27, 1944, stated:

"Resolved, That there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute..."—here we have the two key words, restoration and reconstitute..."Palestine as a free and democratic state."

There may be other people who would like to do some reconstitution.

If the Gentlemen of this Committee are going to do reconstitution and reconstruction on the basis of what the map was, 722 B.C. and 586 B.C., I am afraid we are headed for some trouble.

In the last analysis, the Arab claim rests upon a very simple fact: It is the continued and uninterrupted physical and cultural association between land and people. No better claim can any people present to any land—continued uninterrupted physical and cultural association between land

and people.

Now, then, the religious argument is somewhat related to this one. As I understand it, the political Zionists say "This is our Holy Land. Here Amos, Isaiah, and other prophets made their great contribution to the spiritual life of mankind," all of which is true. "There is Solomon's Temple where we worship," which, by the way, was built by the Phoenicians, (my ancestors.) I had different ancestors earlier, but I could claim all kinds of ancestors! "We have had Palestine as the object of our continued hope and prayer through all the years, and nobody can contest these three or four facts."

But we have some observations.

Firstly, many Jews do not interpret Zion in a physical or geographic sense. The term Zion is holy of the spirit, and the relationship is mystical. But that is something different.

We usually ignore the fact that this land called Palestine is equally holy to the Christians and to the Jews, and sometimes I wonder if our Christian friends remember that; the Moslems never forgot it.

To the Moslem, Jerusalem is the first qiblah. Kiblah would probably be the form which appears in the dictionary.

It is a place to which the Moslem turned to pray before he began to turn his face toward Mecca and Medina in 622 B.C.

That was how Mohammed prayed, and they never forgot that.

The Moslems remember that better than we do, and they know that Jerusalem was the first Holy City in the land. Today it is considered the third Holy City after Mecca and Medina.

There is the Dome of the Rock. It was wrongly called Mosque of Omar, but it was built by two Umayyad Caliphs in Damascus in the latter part of the seventh century. It stands on the site of Solomon's Temple. That Dome of the Rock is one of the holiest places in Moslem land; it was from there that Mohammed undertook his miraculous journey to the Seventh Heaven, his Nocturnal Journey.

You may smile at that. That is what Moslems believe. What you believe in, whether true or not, has the same effect upon you. It makes no difference whether historically it has no basis.

Then the Moslems go on to tell us that this is the gathering place, particularly Jerusalem, the spot of the Dome of the Rock, and on the Day of Resurrection every Moslem is supposed to appear on that site before he has a chance to go to heaven.

Then there is another point from the Moslem standpoint that Palestine is holy not because of its holy place but because it is the place which was conquered through what is called Holy War--Jihad.

Any territory, according to the Moslem theory, of Jihad, which was won by the Moslems in the early stages, has been given them by Allah, and to relinquish their claim upon it is tantamount to a betrayal of their faith.

This is a corollary of the theory of Jihad. This may present the Moslem point of view.

There is another fact, Mr. Chairman, to this religious argument which is presented by the political Zionists, which is further vitiated by the fact, the unfortunate fact, that the Jewish immigration today is not composed of Jews who on religious grounds wish to return to the land of Zion in order to lead a Jewish life without oppression and persecution. Rather is it composed of Jews largely devoid of religious conviction, animated by a spirit of political nationalism, determined to secure domination in Palestine, the homeland of the Arab for at least 1300 years.

These are not my words, Mr. Chairman. This is a quotation from Sir John Hope Simpson, written in the *Fortnightly Review*, December, 1944. You remember Sir John headed the Commission to Palestine in 1930 to report on immigration and land settlement. He said, here at the end of the quotation "...the homeland of the Arab for at least 1300 years."

In my earlier statement, I said that this has been the home of the so-called Arab from time immemorial. We call

those people Arabs today simply because they are Arabic speaking, but before they were Arabic speaking, they were speaking Aramaic, which was the language of Christ. And the natives of Palestine today, especially the Christian element among them, which numbers about 130,000 of the entire population, undoubtedly represents the early stock which was in the land before the Jews came and which remained in the land after the Jews left.

Viewed from the historical standpoint, political Zionism is the rankest kind of imperialism. That is what it is-- nothing else--imperialism in the light of history and geography. It is unpracticable and indefensible as a Jewish state. It is an anachronism. Even if it is established, it cannot be maintained. It is unpracticable; it is indefensible, not only on historical and scholarly grounds, but also from the military point of view. It is unpracticable from the economic point of view.

The Sunday Schools have done a great deal of harm to us, because by smearing the walls of the rooms with maps on Palestine, they are associating it in the mind of the average American--and I may say perhaps the Englishman, too--with the Jews.

Sir, there is no such thing as Palestine in history, absolutely not.

When David and Solomon and ~~say~~ ruled that country,

it wasn't called Palestine. Canaan is the name in the Bible. Even the Romans did not constitute Palestine a province. All you have to do is to look up in the Bible and you will see that the government of Syria at the time of Christ was Roman.

It is unpracticable; it is imperialistic; it is indefensible.

I wish we had maps here to show you what I meant by an anachronism, but you can imagine, sir, a very small tiny spot there on the southern part of the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea, surrounded by a vast territory of Arab Moslem lands, beginning with Morocco, continuing through Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt, and going down to Arabia proper, then going up to Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq--one solid Arab-speaking block--50,000,000 people--with this tiny little spot which has been chosen as the place of an exotic state, built up by international machinery, drawing support from all over the world, artificially stimulated. How can a state like that maintain itself?

The greatest authority on the geography of Palestine is Sir George Adam Smith, whose work entitled "The Historical Geography of the Holy Land" has gone through many editions. Now, I venture to recommend it to the Members of the Committee, and I understand General Allenby made use of that book when he was conducting his campaign into Palestine in

1917. Here is what George Adam Smith, the greatest authority on the geography of the Holy Land, has to say on Page 56 of his book:

"Palestine has never belonged to one nation and probably never will. Just as her fauna and flora represent many geological ages and are related to the plants and animals of many other lands, so varieties of the human race, culture, and religion preserve themselves side by side on these shelves of her surface. The idea that Palestine can ever belong to one nation; even though this were the Jews, is contrary both to nature and to Scripture."

You may say that George Adam Smith wrote this before the Zionist movement assumed its proportions, although he wrote later a whole pamphlet against Zionism in the early twenties.

May I quote from John Carstang, Professor of Archeology in Liverpool, later archeologist in Palestine, and I think, Director of Antiquities. His book is entitled "The Heritage of Solomon," published in London in 1938, and I am quoting from Page 115:

"Since Palestine on three sides has no definite boundaries, it is not well adapted to become the cradle of one particular race, nor can it claim for its population a continuous national history. Indeed, only at long intervals and for relatively short periods has it ever been ruled

from within. Then a footnote: (E.G. In Biblical history under the Canaanites in the north, 1600-1500 B.C., under David and Solomon, 1000-950 B.C., and under Simon Maccabeus, about 140 B.C.) It is essentially a part of Syria, with which it shares a common seaboard and the parallel range of mountains."

This is the end of the footnote. In my presentation I was a little more generous than John Garstang. I gave the Jewish state in Palestine a longer period of life than he did. He gave it 50 years. This man Garstang discovered the ruins of Tiberias, which he places before 5,000 B.C., maintaining it the oldest habitable piece of land in that territory--perhaps in the world.

If Palestine was occupied 5,000 B.C. and today being 2,000 A.D., Palestine has had a long history of 7,000 years, of which, according to Garstang, 50 years, from 1,000 to 950 B.C., it was a Jewish state, with the exception of a little period under Simon Macabeus in the year 140 B.C., and then I call this to your attention:

"It is essentially a part of Syria, with which it shares a common seaboard and a parallel range of mountains."

These are two historians who are considered first-class not only in the English-speaking world, but throughout the whole civilized world.

May I in conclusion, then, introduce a quotation from

a third man, who is neither a historian nor an archeologist or philologist. He is an expert on population. He knows nothing first-hand about Palestine, never went there. He, Frank W. Notestein, and another, Ernest Jurkat, wrote "Population Problems of Palestine," published from The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, October, 1945. On Page 350, the following statement occurs:

"On the other hand, on the basis of the growth prospect it appears that a catastrophe of major proportions is not outside the bounds of possibility if enthusiasm for a Jewish state should result in the really heavy immigration sometimes talked of."

Then on Page 352, the statement continues:

"Should the Jews achieve a national state, it is unlikely that in the long run it could be maintained, either as part of the region, whose only hope for economic development is as the center of a substantial hinterland, or as a minority ruling group supported by outside power."

In other words, this authority on population, approaching the problem from an entirely different point of view, leads to the same conclusion of Mr. Carstang and the same conclusion that any serious student of history, geography, and ethnics, who has no axe to grind, must reach--that a Zionist state in Palestine is unpracticable and indefensible.

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Thank you, sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: There is one matter I would like to bring to your notice, Mr. Hitti, if I may.

In the second paragraph of the memorandum which you were good enough to submit to the Committee, you say:

"The problem of Jewish refugees and the formation of a Jewish state are obviously not identical. They should be kept strictly apart in the inquiry. We appreciate the importance of the human problem of



displaced and destitute Jews, and wish to share in its solution."

I gather you are speaking for the Institute of Arab American Affairs and not of Arabs generally.

DR. HITTI: Yes.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I hope that we will have all the help we can get to solve the human problem. You may not be able to answer that now, because you are far away from the center, but I draw your attention to it now as something I think we ought to have.

DR. HITTI: Yes, sir, I appreciate your question, sir, and I think, as a Member of the Institute of Arab American Affairs, Doctor Hazam, who will appear immediately after me, has been charged with the question of treating the humanitarian aspect of this problem, which will answer, I hope, the question which you raised.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Very well, thank you.

DR. HITTI: I am entitled to speak only on the historical and religious side.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I didn't know someone else was following you.

DR. HITTI: Yes, sir.

DR. AYDELOTTE: In your memorandum on Page 2 in the first paragraph, you have the following sentence:

"While most Arabs are Moslems, we find Christian

Arabs and Jewish Arabs in Palestine as well as in Egypt, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon. There are Arabs of various ethnic stocks such as Berbers in North Africa, Copts in Egypt, Kurds in Iraq."

How many Jewish Arabs are there in Palestine? Have you any rough idea?

DR. HITTI: There were 50,000 at the end of the first World War, which was one-tenth of the entire population. So far as I knew, and so far as I know now, no native movement among the Jewish population of Palestine, Syria, Iraq, or Egypt was initiated along the Zionist lines. In fact, the reports in the paper which appeared, I think last week, stated that the Chief Rabbi of the Arab Jewish community in Damascus and the Rabbi and Spokesman of the Arab Jewish communities in Cairo presented themselves before your authorities and disclaimed any connection whatsoever with the Zionist cause.

Zionism is not an outgrowth of these so-called Jewish Arabs, or Arabic-speaking Jews.

I may add, Doctor Aydelotte, too, that these Jewish Arabs have been identified with the natives from all the ages. They speak almost with the same dialectical difference; they eat the same food; they wear the same clothes; they have the same way of life; and according to the Statement of the Secretary of the Arab League, the Arab League

made it clear that the boycott of Jewish goods would not be applicable to the Arab Jews. It will be confined to the Zionists.

And since I am treating the historical side, I might say in the middle ages when the Christians were persecuting the Jews in Central Europe, the Jews found refuge through the Arabs and Moslems in the East and remained there and when Benjamin of Tudela, a Jewish traveler of the twelfth century, visited there, he noticed that the head of the Jewish community in Baghdad would ride on his horse and go through the streets with a guide before him, saying "Make way for the Son of David."

And one of the greatest physicians of the Middle Ages was Maimonides. He was physician, philosopher, and theologian, who became a doctor of Saladin. There were two or three times when the Jews were persecuted, so I must admit the Jews must occupy an inferior position to the Moslems. So do the Christians, but as long as they pay tribute, they are protected by Islam. As a result of that, they flourished and continued to the present time. These are just remnants of these ancient communities who were Jewish by religion and Arabic-speaking by tongue, who maintained their identity until the present day.

DR. AYDELOTTE: Have you in your office anything in writing or in print about these Arab-speaking Jews, and

especially about their attitude toward Zionism.

DR. HITTI: Doctor Totush, Director of the Institute, I think will follow Doctor Hazam. If he hasn't got that material, I am sure he will get it for the Members of the Committee.

DR. AYDELOTTE: On the third page at the top you say, concerning the improvement in the Arab standard of living in Palestine since the Zionist Movement:

"We feel impelled here to make a distinction between benefits accruing to Jews and restricted to them, and benefits accruing to the Arabs indirectly. These latter could have come about, as they did come about in Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria, through a general, if slow, rise in the standard of living due to industrialization and to a rising social consciousness."

In other words, there has been an improvement in the standard of living of Arabs in Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria, as well as in Palestine?

DR. HITTI: Yes, sir.

DR. AYDELOTTE: Has it been as great in Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria as it has been in Palestine?

DR. HITTI: I cannot answer that directly. That economic question I think will be treated by Doctor Totush later on, but I may say myself that the political Zionists

have claimed a little too much for themselves. They claim that practically all the improvements in Palestine--the raising of the standard of living and the lower rate of mortality--is due to their efforts.

Indirectly, undoubtedly there is a great deal of truth in that. The fact remains that the British Administration of Palestine is responsible for a great deal of improvement, to which no credit is ever given.

The improvement in Lebanon is remarkable. The improvement in Egypt is remarkable. How much of that should be given to Jews, I don't know. Very often I guess that the Arabs go to the Hadassah hospitals. They do, undoubtedly. I think Doctor Tciush will tell you later how many go. I remember two years ago Professor Fischel, who was a Professor in the Hebrew University of Palestine, appeared at a class in Princeton under ASDP to speak about this point, and he said all the benefits accrued to Jews and Christians alike. Of course, the Jews meant by that improvement the Christians, and the Moslem gets it as a side issue. And he said all the institutions are open to them, and one very shrewd Yankee soldier--I saw one here but I don't think he is the man--said "Can you tell us how many Arab students there are in the Hebrew University today?"

I think the answer was eleven or twelve, I can't remember, but the number of Arabs who attend the Hebrew

Zionist University is very small. Why? The instruction is Hebrew, for one thing. Then there is the prejudice. Instruction is through the medium of Hebrew, yet the Zionists tell us all their facilities are open, which is true to a certain extent, but we have to counterbalance that once a piece of land gets into the hands of a Jew by the National Fund, it becomes inalienable, and it can never revert to a Christian or Moslem. That will be treated later.

DR. AYDELOTTE: These are relevant points. We have heard a good deal of testimony as to the rise in the standard of living of the Arabs in Palestine. You would not answer the question that that has taken place?

DR. HETTI: No, sir, I wouldn't, and I wouldn't attribute it to Zionism. I will give the British some credit for it and to the general standard of living being higher all over the world, including Palestine.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Reading from the first page of your memorandum, you say "It is likewise clear that the immediate object of concentrating on Palestine as a place of refuge, is for the political purpose of achieving a majority after which the de facto majority will automatically establish a Jewish state in Palestine. The question, therefore, so far as it affects the political future of Palestine, is whether a humanitarian purpose in which all right-thinking

people will concur, shall be allowed to create a political revolution in which a present Arab majority of two to one shall be politically subordinated to an immigrant group, contrary to all international precedent..."

It is your view that the present conditions are being seized on by the Zionists and used for the purpose of carrying out their prime desire to make a Jewish state?

DR. HITTI: Yes, sir.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: If that assumption were removed, or if that consummation were made impossible, that is to say, if the conception of a Jewish state or a Jewish Commonwealth disappeared by some change in the opinion of the Zionists or by a public law which prevented such consummation, would you say that the great humanitarian purpose to go to a place where the people are ready to receive them and are in sympathy with them would be opposed and prevented by the Arabs, Moslems, and Christians? In other words, let us look on Palestine as a place fitted by long preparation for the reception of Jews and such people as we have to deal with. Would you say that the sentiment of those now opposed to political Zionism would subside enough to permit that great humanitarian purpose to be achieved?

DR. HITTI: Frankly, no, sir. I am answering from the standpoint of the Arabs.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I am talking from your memorandum.

DR. HITTI: If you permit me, I may remark that your question, Your Honor, is hypothetical.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Sure.

DR. HITTI: And because it is hypothetical, it can't be answered in practical terms. That is, I mean to say so much emotion has been stirred up, blood has been shed for many years, and there are psychological elements and tensions over the years that no matter how much you tell the people in the name of mercy, admit more Jews, you cannot override that background. There was a time, Mr. Chairman, in which that could have been done very well. I was teaching in the early twenties in Turkey, and there were hundreds and thousands of Armenian refugees coming from Turkey. I happened to be on the Committee of the New York Eastern Relief, which was the American Committee distributing relief, and I visited those places where those Armenians lived, and I know how everybody welcomed them and did everything they could for them. At the same time, every time a Zionist landed in Hafia, they looked upon him with suspicion, not because he was Jewish, not at all, but because he came with the idea that this is my country. It has been my country and I am coming to reclaim it. It was an immigration different from immigrations.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You mean they treated it as immigration for conquest?

DR. HITTI: Absolutely. It's an attenuated form of conquest, that is what it is.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: That is what you say they treated it as?

DR. HITTI: Absolutely, and they have grounds, too. The Arabs were not entirely unjustified. If the Jews had come in from the beginning like anybody else, as they come to the United States, I know enough about Arab hospitality which is proverbial, that these Jews would have been welcomed in the present land as they were before. If your question was raised twenty years ago, I have absolutely no doubt in my mind that the people of Palestine, or the Arab people, would have said "welcome" to the Jews.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I think you have answered that, and now I have this question. You stated that you think the point of view is so fixed in opposition that the surrender of the claims for a Jewish state in exchange for the privilege of at least emergent immigration would be to no avail and that the Zionists, or the people concerned, will go on and claim a Jewish state and it won't do any good to modify their terms.

DR. HITTI: Yes, sir, absolutely; we have reached an impasse due to psychological, historical, and emotional movements that makes the solution along the line which you suggest, in my judgment, impossible.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I wasn't asking whether it could be done; I was asking whether you could obtain agreement to it.

DR. HITTI: I don't think you could.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Assuming that a wrong is done at some time and assuming it to be a grievous wrong, assuming all of that, is the view which you put forward that it can never be corrected and put right?

DR. HITTI: The wrong, sir, has not been done by the people of Palestine; the people of Palestine have done their share.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I am not suggesting it is, nor am I saying a wrong has been done. But assuming it has been done by everyone--assuming a wrong has been done to the Arabs in Palestine--can the Arab never forget? Is that what you wish the Committee to understand?

DR. HITTI: So far as I know, the Arabs are not retaliating. They are not retaliating. All they want is, if the population of a country has been multiplied by ten times in the last twenty years, as was the case in Palestine, the natives have a right to say "These were men or angels coming in."

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: The Chairman's question was directed to whether or not if better feeling might come about to enable something to be done for humanitarian reasons, there can only be one answer to that, and that is that a

better feeling might result and something might be done, and I hope you will be able to answer that.

DR. HITTI: I think, Sir, your understanding of the Chairman's question was slightly different from my understanding. I did not understand from the Chairman's question whether or not better feeling could be brought about between the two sides. If so, I would have immediately answered sure, I hope so, and I think they will.

But he went on to say enough so that the people of Palestine will say "Send us more." Was that implied?

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Not quite that joyous a quest for more!

(Laughter)

DR. HITTI: I misunderstood you, sir.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: It was between what Sir John is saying and what you are saying. You are not talking of the long future in which relations might be maintained. What I was trying to say was, for instance, I would never think a real out-and-out permanent dyed-in-the-wool Zionist would ever agree to give up his Jewish state. That is what he wants, and I don't blame him if he wants it. On the other hand, I wouldn't think an extremist among Arab nationals would ever be willing to allow any more Jews to come in if he can help it. Is this Jewish state the shibboleth which makes them say on which side ye shall serve?

DR. HITTI: Yes, sir, but if you want to draw a conclusion and say "Let more Jews come in," I would say the people would say no.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: In order to carry out the objective of the state, no, but in order to relieve the suffering in recognition of what they have undergone, would not the Arab say yes out of a spirit of generosity, if they could be assured that the Jewish state was out?

DR. HITTI: If you can convince them, sir, you will go a long way towards the solution of the problem, because in the mind of the Arab, every Zionist coming in is a potential warrior.

I am not telling you what I think; that is what they think. If you can convince them to the contrary, you may go a long way towards the solution of this problem.

LORD MORRISON: I want to follow along the same point the Chairman has begun regarding your memorandum. On Page 1 you say "We appreciate the importance of the human problem of displaced and destitute Jews, and wish to share in its solution."

Would you give us some indication of what those last words mean?

DR. HITTI: As an American citizen, sir, I appeared two years ago before the Committee of the House when this resolution which I quoted came up, and I said definitely

and clearly that as an American citizen, I would not be adverse to having Jews and any suffering people admitted to the United States.

Many people don't like that. Many people who have been advocating the Zionist program from the Christian side, I suspect are at heart anti-Zionists.

I will maintain that we here as Americans should do our share towards the solution of this problem as Americans. Our legislators and our governors have been making many gestures and declarations about forcing Palestine to take more Jews, but I didn't hear any one of them raise a finger in behalf of the Jews to the extent of lifting the barriers so all Jews can be admitted to the United States. I have absolutely no objection to that as an American citizen. In fact, I think we should be ashamed of ourselves for not having done it before. That will be my answer to that statement, sir.

LORD MORRISON: Yes. Could I draw your attention to the very last sentence in the memorandum that you submitted to us and let me know whether the answer you have given also covers that:

"Even now, if the Jews in Palestine give up Zionist political ambitions and seek amalgamation instead of domination, they will find the Arabs ready to accept them and

accord them as assimilated citizens autonomous rights as a community."

DR. HITTI: Yes, sir. Do you want a comment on that?

LORD MORRISON: Yes, I wonder whether you would like to comment on that.

DR. HITTI: The Secretary of the Arab League firstly announced that when other nations were willing to introduce more Jews, we will do our share. Secondly, I think he made the announcement that the Jewish community in Palestine should be entitled to have its own community life.

Nuri Pasha al-Said, when he was Prime Minister in Iraq in 1944, I believe, issued a document in behalf of his Government to the British residents in Cairo. At first it was secret, but it was published in excerpts in P.M., saying we guarantee for the Jews in Palestine the life of an autonomous community and extend the same to the Maronites of Lebanon, who insisted upon their separatism.

MR. CRICK: There are one or two questions on this last sentence which I would like to put to the witness, following Lord Morrison's inquiry.

We are, of course, speaking in words. It is the only way we can convey our ideas. But we have seen a little of the difficulties that have arisen from different understandings attached to identical words.

I think, therefore, it is very desirable that we should

try and get agreement on the meaning of these words on the last page of your memorandum, quoted from the General Secretary of the League of Arab States. He speaks of the Zionist political ambitions of the Jews in Palestine. Is it sought by that construction to draw distinction between the Zionist political ambitions of the Jews in Palestine and the Zionist political ambitions of the Jews outside Palestine?

DR. HITTI: I don't think so, sir. I don't think the idea there is to draw any distinction between the two.

MR. CRICK: Then it would follow, wouldn't it, that the condition which you apply to the acceptance of Jews in Palestine is a condition that would require acceptance both by the Jews in Palestine and outside?

DR. HITTI: Yes, sir.

MR. CRICK: Now, then, the other point of difficulty in my mind is this:

I find it very difficult to resolve what superficially would appear to be conflicting phraseologies here; namely, the according of autonomous rights as a community and such phrases as amalgamation and assimilation.

DR. HITTI: I would agree with you, sir. I think the words assimilation and amalgamation are badly used there. They should not have been used. I think what is meant is they will be citizens of a free and democratic state,

remaining Jews forever if they want to. I agree with you, sir, those words should not have been used.

MR. CRICK: What you have in mind is something in the nature of a federal organization?

DR. HITTI: Yes, sir.

MR. CRICK: Then I would like to put this in another form. Would you agree if that condition which you here laid down were fulfilled--the abandonment of Zionist political ambitions--then the Arab League would be prepared at any rate to consider further infiltration of Jews into Palestine? Is that the meaning of the term "to accept them"? Or does that mean simply to reconcile themselves to the presence of the Jews now in Palestine?

DR. HITTI: I think it is the latter, sir.

MR. CROSSMAN: Your view is that anything like a Zionist solution could only be imposed by force on the Arabs?

DR. HITTI: Yes, sir.

MR. CROSSMAN: Your view is even if the Zionist solution were not adopted, any amount of immigration which gave the Jews a majority in Palestine could only be imposed by force on the Arabs?

DR. HITTI: Yes, sir.

MR. CROSSMAN: Your view is that any Arab solution, such as permanent immigration into Palestine, could only be

imposed by force on the Zionists?

DR. HITTI: I don't want to speak for the Zionists.

MR. CROSSMAN: No, but I would like your view. Having listened to everything and having studied it, it is your responsibility to have a view.

DR. HITTI: My view is that is correct.

MR. CROSSMAN: Therefore, the view you are putting to the Committee is a mandatory power has only the choice of imposing by force one view on another part of the community.

DR. HITTI: That is the way it looks to me now.

MR. CROSSMAN: So you are actually putting it up to the mandatory power that it will be right to suppress one part for the sake of the other because there is no other solution?

DR. HITTI: That is up to the mandate.

MR. CROSSMAN: You are putting it up to the mandatory power?

DR. HITTI: Sure, it's the Mandate which brought us into the impasse.

MR. CROSSMAN: I am not asking who brought it in.

DR. HITTI: Yes, but you are trying to put the responsibility on me.

MR. CROSSMAN: I think everyone who expresses a view on a subject of this sort has a moral responsibility for the view he expresses.

DR. HITTI: Absolutely, and I am responsible for my view.

MR. CROSSMAN: And he realizes the consequence of these views for his friends as well as his enemies.

DR. HITTI: The mandatory power has committed herself to many different views along the line.

MR. CROSSMAN: Your criticism of the mandatory power is an attempt to conciliate both sides?

DR. HITTI: I didn't put it that way.

MR. CROSSMAN: You are criticizing the mandatory power for attempting conciliation when no conciliation is possible?

DR. HITTI: Yes, and it was the mandatory power which from the very beginning made different commitments at different times.

MR. CROSSMAN: That is a different point. Your criticism of the British Government is the attempted conciliation of Jews and Arabs?

DR. HITTI: Yes, sir, absolutely.

MR. CROSSMAN: Thank you.

MR. BUXTON: I wanted your precise view as to exactly how the Jews in Palestine could or should or would give up their Zionist political ambitions. What would you take as evidence that they were surrendering their Zionist political ambitions and aspirations? Would you have a mass meeting or individuals foreswearing all immigration? How should they indicate it?

DR. HITTI: If they declared themselves as willing to be citizens of a democratic state, not Jewish democratic, but a democratic state based on the existing population, that would go far towards the solution of that phase of the problem, in my judgment.

MR. BUXTON: You would make the existing population the maximum population of Jews in Palestine for all time?

DR. HITTI: I have to allow for the natural growth of Jews.

(Laughter)

DR. HITTI: Judging by the natural growth in the last twenty years, there will be a duplication of the population in the next twenty years.

MR. BUXTON: But while you were opening the gates of the United States to the Jews, you would close the gates of Palestine to the Jews?

DR. HITTI: Because of the tensions and because of the psychological elements and because of the bloodshed, we have reached a state where it will be very difficult for us, if not impossible, to convince the Arabs that these forthcoming Jews are coming under a different banner.

MR. BUXTON: You would check immigration from now on?

DR. HITTI: Absolutely.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: He is working to produce, to stay and

work, and see where he will come out! I realize it's hypothetical, suppositious, and supposititious, but the only way we can think in this world is by putting up postulates to them!

(Laughter)

You have stated, and I believe you are correct, that it's going to be a stout thing and stout lot that will stop the Zionists from "Zioning," and it will be a pretty stout thing to stop the Arab Nationalist from "Arabing," if that is the proper wording, but the world doesn't move that way. Two or three days ago I read how the Jewish fellows state the basis of their neighborly views, and it is said in the Bible that you must love your neighbor as yourself, so if all of that comes together, wouldn't there be a reasonable place for accord in something like this:

Permit the population of the Jewish section to be increased by this pitiful remnant-- I'm not talking about all of Europe, but I'm talking about this remnant remaining in Germany and Austria--let those come in and let them be the blood offering of both peoples, and then let the thing stop with such reasonable immigration allowances as proportioned to any country.

Why should you think when the spirit of compromise is

being invoked, that bar should fall absolutely on the present status? Why not let some of these hard-depressed ones come in and use that as a basis? Is there anything in that?

DR. HITTI: I don't know whether the witness has the right to ask the Judge a question.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I think you have.

DR. HITTI: How many would you say is this remnant? You speak about a remnant being admitted.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I have that in mind only because of the refugee part of the testimony. This hearing has divided itself into refugeeism and Zionism. We have been hearing from President Truman about this 100,000 or 150,000--we will say under 200,000 seems to be the maximum. We have heard of the absolutely distressed ones in that radius, which might bring the estimate of Jews up to 750,000 or 800,000 against the Arabs 1,200,000. I don't know the exact figure. Do you really believe that the thing is so that you can't change it?

DR. HITTI: The Chairman has characterized his question as suppositious, and my answer would be of like nature. If you can convince at this stage the Arabs of the good faith involved in that phase of the question, I have absolutely no doubt that the Arabs would respond, if you can convince them.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I am not trying to commit the Zionists

in saying they will agree, but I am supposing it. Thank you very much.

DR. AYDELOTTE: I think I can ask the Judge's question in another form, which is not suppositious but a matter of fact.

We have heard a good deal of testimony here from various sectors of Jewish opinion--some of it I dare say would be almost parallel to the statement that you made a moment ago that you thought this was a problem that could be settled only by force--and I just wondered when you made that statement whether you really meant it that way. This is what I want to ask you as a question of fact.

We have heard from other sections of Jewish interest quite moderate--so moderate as not to be popular with their fellow Jews--views. Are there those elements in the Arab world? Are there, besides the people who take extreme views on this subject, Arabs who take a more moderate point of view?

DR. HETTI: So far as I know, sir, there is no organized public opinion, I might say, or moderate public opinion which would represent that point of view.. There may be individuals who do. However, Doctor Hazam will come to that later. He came back from Palestine only recently and he may be able to advise you. However, I would venture to ask the

Judge a few questions before I commit myself on this subject.

How many are you willing to take into the United States?

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I would be awful liberal with them!

(Laughter)

DR. HITTI: The question has become so complicated that there is some rumor if the Zionists are permitted to establish themselves in Palestine, they will not be satisfied with Palestine, and all kinds of things--so much, in fact, that I hated to get into this thing myself. I was dragged into it. So much dirt and emotion and superficial thinking along these lines has been created, and many people believe these rumors much more readily than they believe the facts.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You didn't mean the Committee would give it superficial consideration?

DR. HITTI: No, sir.

(Laughter)

DR. HITTI: We have to wait until the Committee makes its report!

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I doubt if we have exhibited any thinking of any kind, much!

DR. HITTI: Not yet!

JUDGE HUTCHESON: As far as I am concerned, I am like you as an American, not that I would want to break everything down, but I think in the face of a great tragedy, we

deal in the law with precedents and with cases without precedent. I think this is a case without precedent, where our country could do something, and I personally would be glad to say so.

DR. HITTI: Yes, sir, and I can answer personally how I feel. I satisfied myself with the answer that the people there feel. That is what you wanted.

MR. CROSSMAN: Would you say if the Western Powers were willing to make a very big gesture and do a big job in taking in refugees, that would have a considerable effect on the opinion of the Arabs on this question?

DR. HITTI: Absolutely, one hundred per cent.

MR. MC DONALD: Mr. Chairman, might I ask you one question. It hasn't to do with politics, but it goes back beyond it.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I don't know what is politics and what is not; just ask the question!

MR. MC DONALD: Professor Hitti is a great historian, so I wonder if he would take two or three minutes to enlighten the Committee on his conception of the racial and ethnic make-up of the area of Palestine when the Jews came at the time of Moses and Joshua.

DR. HITTI: I will be delighted, sir.

MR. MC DONALD: I think you ought to get a statement from the Chairman as to whether it is to be two minutes or a classical college period.

DR. HITTI: I can answer that briefly.

We know from the Old Testament that the native population of Palestine was largely Amorite. In other places of the Old Testament they are called Canaanites. Both were Semites.

The Amorites occupied the highlands and the Canaanites occupied the lowlands. The Philistines, who were not Semites, occupied the coast. They had five cities, beginning with Gaza in the south and ending with Jaffa in the north. So you have a majority of the Semitic population in the inland. These were the major ethnic elements, and there were other small groups that are referred to in the Old Testament as Jebusites, about whom we know very little. Also Horites. We know now they are descended from a non-Semitic stock. We didn't know that before.

David himself did not occupy Jerusalem until some time after he became King. He took it away from the Jebusites, we are told. Who they were exactly, we don't know. So there were elements in the country, mostly Semite, partly Indo-European, partly unknown.

The Hebrews, according to the best scholars, were

descended from the Khabiru, descended from Abraham. If you accept the story, I have no objection. I don't want to undermine the religious feelings of anybody, but the modern school is doubtful of his historicity as a person. They think the earliest ancestors of the Jews were the Khabiru, who were mentioned first in connection with the invasion of Syria about 1600, and later with the Aramian invasion of Syria about 1375 B.C., who are mentioned in the Tell Al-Amarna letters which were written to Amen Hotep the Third and Amen Hotep the Fourth, who was better known as Ikhnaton.

The first time the Hebrews appeared in history, they appeared under the name Khabiru, but that is not an ethnic term. They appeared as mercenary, adventurous people, connected with the Hyksos Army and later with the Aramean invasion. Therefore, according to the best authors on this subject, Hebrews came as Heberu in connection with the Hittite (Hyksos) movement between 1600 and 1345 B.C. from the north. Then we have another current coming from Egypt under Moses and Joshua, which is dated 1225. Again not all scholars agree on that date. They came from the south and couldn't work their way north. The coalescence of these two currents, one from the north and one from the south, constituted the Hebrew nation.

The Hebrew history begins really with Moses and the Hebrew nation with the coalescence under Saul and David.

MR. MC DONALD: What is the best book, in your judgment, on this period you have been describing? I mean on the racial and ethnic make-up prior to Moses and Joshua? I'm not assuming all my colleagues are going to read it, but...

(Laughter)

DR. HITTI: There isn't one single book, but I think Garstang's book, "The Heritage of Solomon," is one of the best. Then there is Professor Theobald Meek's, of the University of Toronto, work entitled "Hebrew Origin." These are lectures delivered at one of the Mid-western Universities.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: He went to Liverpool about a dozen or fifteen years ago and studied archeology?

DR. HITTI: Yes, sir. I think those books would answer Mr. McDonald's purpose or question better than anyone else. Professor Meek's book was published three or four years ago.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Might I act as a booking agent between you and McDonald and arrange a private conference by which you can enlighten me!

(Laughter)

MR. PHILLIPS: May I ask a question. In answering Mr. Crossman's inquiry, you said, in your opinion, if there is a substantial contribution by the Western Powers towards Jewish refugees, the change of attitude on the part of the

Arabs would be 100 per cent.

Have you any thoughts on how best one could actually produce that change of attitude on that part? I mean quickly? What would be the best and quickest procedure to produce that result? The question which was asked was one of immediate humanitarian relief. Have you any thought as to how the attitude of the Arab people might most quickly be changed?

DR. HITTI: I could answer that in one word, sir--
action.

The Arabs have had so many promises from the Western Powers that they are prone to look with suspicion upon promises. It would be action on the part of the Western Powers immediately, whether England or America, it makes no difference, but that would go far in helping to convince the Arabs.

How can we convince the Arabs that they should offer a sacrifice when none of us is offering any sacrifice?

MR. PHILLIPS: Would it be your understanding that it would be wise to get the approval of the Arab in Palestine before the Western Powers were approached in that respect?

DR. HITTI: I don't think it will be necessary. I am saying from my knowledge of the situation that that would not be necessary at all. Once the Western Powers act, then they can benefit The Arab League with a much better case.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I thank you very much, especially
for that historical debate between you and McDonald.

MR. MC DONALD: No debate here!



MR. ROOD: Also for the Institute of Arab-American Affairs, Dr. John G. Hazam.

STATEMENT OF DR. JOHN G. HAZAM

REPRESENTING THE INSTITUTE OF ARAB-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

DR. HAZAM: Mr. Chairman, I am John G. Hazam, native of the United States, raised on the other side, a professor of history at the College of the City of New York.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You spoke of the other side. Where are you from?

DR. HAZAM: My parents come from Sida, as it is called now.

I have prepared a rather provocative statement here, and of course I expect a rather provocative rejoinder.

The policy of the Balfour Declaration, which has been pursued in Palestine since the end of the first World War, has been founded largely upon gross misconception of the true situation then existing in the Arab countries and upon a distinct injustice to the native population of the country. To persist in such a policy is to worsen the position of the Jews and bitter the feelings of the Arabs, pave the way for further turmoil and bloodshed in the Near East and in general endanger the peace of the world.

The allied powers must fulfill their solemn pronouncements and wartime pledges given to the Arabs and accord

the people of Palestine immediate independence and democratic self-government.

Consciously or unconsciously the Balfour Declaration was predicated on the curious notion of the white man's burden, which seems to be still prevalent in certain quarters, the latest adherents of this creed being the Zionists. The British seem to have been woefully unaware and quite misjudged the growing strength of the Arab nationalist movement. The Arabs being a so-called backward, Oriental people were regarded as incapable of self-government, and as having few rights which a European imperialist power need fully respect.

The Allies doubtless felt the Arabs would readily acquiesce in the alienation of their land to foreign tutelage and foreign immigration and proceed to cooperate with the latter in return for supposed material benefits to be derived in the future.

The Balfour letter and similar statements later supporting it gave the world the impression that Palestine was predominantly inhabited by Biblical Hebrews and that all other residents there constituted a motley group of non-Jewish minorities.

The truth of the matter is that the Arabs had already acquired considerable experience in constitutional Government and had their elected deputies in the Turkish parliament.

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Palestine had six such deputies, while much of the local administration was in their hands.

In Palestine they constituted nine-tenths of the population, approximately. Far from granting political rights to the Arabs, the Balfour Declaration took away those rights which they already enjoyed and made it virtually impossible for them to reacquire these rights so long as the interests of the national home were allowed priority.

This initial injustice to the Arabs involved further measures which helped to compound it severalfold. Out of it came another strange notion, namely, that all major problems directly or remotely connected with Jewish life in Europe must be solved at the expense of the Arabs, although the Arabs had no part in the creation or aggravation of any of these strictly European problems.

Before 1937, when Balfour made his declaration, there was never any Palestine question, or even any Palestine as a political or geographical entity, as Professor Hitti has explained. There was, however, in Europe, not in the Arab world, a Jewish problem, a Zionist problem, and later when nationalism arose, a refugee problem.

The Jewish question is as old as the Roman Empire and Christianity. Some 50 years ago, owing to the revival of anti-Semitism in Europe, a Zionist movement developed

which hoped to solve the age-old Jewish problem by political means, that is, by conceiving of the Jews as a nation, and agitating for a national home or state, preferably in Palestine.

Finally, there is the problem of the refugees, or displaced persons. This, as has often been pointed out both by experts and statesmen, is not a peculiarly Jewish problem.

A few days ago Ernest Bevin, British Foreign Secretary, declared, and I quote, "The Jewish problem is only one part of the refugee problem affecting millions of others."

Why the Arabs should be imposed upon and suffer for the consequences of Europe's religious intolerance is a baffling but legitimate question. The Arabs, it should be repeated, were not the creators of any of these problems. The Jewish problem existed for countless centuries before there was ever a modern Palestine question. Nor did the Arabs create the Palestine question. That question is a recent special, deliberate, artificial and secret concoction of the Zionists and their fair weather friends in the British Cabinet, each with his own special axe to grind.

It has frequently been said that in a sense Arab Palestine might be considered a wedding gift made to the Zionists upon the marriage of Jewish nationalism to the British imperialism. If so, the gift had not been acquired

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by the gallant donor at the time it seemed to have been so freely tendered. Since the gift was the homeland and property of the Arab inhabitants who were never consulted in its disposal and who resented being bartered about, the British in all experienced considerable difficulty and delay in the process of delivery.

Nor, surely, can anyone accuse the Arabs of having anything to do with driving the Jews and other peoples out of their homes in Europe. Why, then, should they be singled out and be forced to accept in their country aliens whom Europe and the New World apparently will not take? Why should they submit to be swamped by Jewish refugees whose express purpose is to take over ultimately from native inhabitants the rule of Palestine?

The Arabs regard this, as the Royal Peal Commission reported, in the nature of an invasion, and I quote, "as a sort of creeping conquest." Therefore, the Arabs believe that every able-bodied Jew who is brought to Palestine is a potential soldier.

But the Zionists and their sympathizers claim that they are bringing substantial material progress to the areas of Palestine. If so, it is purely incidental, mere crumbs which fall from the Jewish banquet table. Where benefits are possible in the form of direct employment of Arab labor the Jewish Agency and Jewish Labor Federation deliberately

prohibit or try to prevent it.

The Arabs who concentrate on agriculture are not averse to a certain measure of industrialization in Palestine, but they prefer to bring that about gradually in their own way and through their own efforts. They are opposed to Zionist aims of defacing the Holy Land, the well-preserved sanctuary of world religions, by factory smokestacks and turning the shoreline into amusement centers. The Arabs do not want the Holy Land to be converted into a cross between Pittsburgh and Coney Island.

In any case, the proposed economic improvement of Palestine is not the fundamental issue. The issue is one of who shall control the political life of Palestine, the foreign Jewish immigrants or the indigenous Arab inhabitants. All of the talk about material and other questionable benefits is definitely beside the point.

"The issue," said the Royal Peel Commission, "quite obviously is strictly political rather than economic." And I go on to quote, "The establishment of the Jewish national home involved at the outset a blank negation of the Arab rights implied in the principle of national self-government."

Nor is the issue a humanitarian one. The refugee problem in truth should not have the slightest bearing upon the

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fortunes of Arab Palestine or its so-called economic absorptive capacity.

The question of what to do with the displaced persons of Europe, both Jews and non-Jews, is one for which the nations of the world are collectively responsible, perhaps, as suggested by Mr. Bevin, through the United Nations Organization. Homes should be found for these unfortunate victims, if not in Europe, then in the sparsely settled countries of the Western Hemisphere and Australia.

The little "patched" country of Palestine, which has already accepted more Jewish refugees than all the rest of the world combined, is not a solution. In fact, it is now the worst possible solution from practically every view. If the civilized nations of Europe--I should say the globe--persist in maintaining their own high legal barriers against immigration and at the same time shed bitter official tears over the sorry plight of the refugees and demand that another country, namely, Palestine, should accept these refugees against the will of Arab inhabitants, then such nations expose themselves to the serious charge of wretched hypocrisy. They will have buried their Christian consciences and moral scruples in the distant sands of Palestine.

Nor have the Zionists made wholehearted and sustained efforts to force countries other than Palestine to open their doors to the European distress. Contrary to its

pretensions, the Zionist movement was never intended to be primarily humanitarian, but purely political.

In 1918 Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the Zionist leader, asserted, and I quote, "We have never based the Zionist movement on Jewish sufferings in Russia or in any other country."

As shrewd political opportunists, the Zionists recognize the tremendous sentimental appeal which the refugee problem could engender in the western world. They quickly seized upon it, linked it with their nationalist designs in Palestine and exploited it for their own political ends.

A decade ago in this country we used to call this sort of thing "playing politics with human misery." The fact that the Zionists who have adherents and sympathizers in the United States Congress and the British Parliament, where the Arabs do not, have never made the same vigorous, intense drives to open the immigration gates of such countries as the United States, Latin America, Canada and Australia as they have of Palestine, is a true measure of their humanitarian sincerity.

Says Sir Ronald Storrs, a former governor of Jerusalem, the Zionists "render poor service to the thousands who could anyhow never get into Palestine by deriding or discouraging every alternative."

Is it because the Zionists are afraid that if the doors of America were to be thrown open to free immigration that

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the Jews remaining in Europe would elect to go to the United States instead of Palestine and that the Jews in Palestine itself would desert that arid land for the more promising American shores?"

Instead, the Zionists have directed their blows at the Arabs. Why? Is it because the Arabs are relatively defenseless, poor, uninfluential, and inarticulate and therefore an easy and safe target?

Yet the Arab countries have provided sanctuary for large numbers of displaced Jews. Paradoxically, by their aggressive propaganda and their pressure tactics the Zionists are unwillingly alienating the 50,000,000 Arabs and the 300,000,000 Moslems of the world who throughout history have been their most steadfast and constant friends.

The Zionists cannot with sober conscience demand justice for themselves in Europe and at the same time inflict a flagrant injustice on another people in Palestine. They cannot ask for equality in Europe and special position of extraterritoriality and privilege in Palestine.

Is it not presumptuous for the Zionist to expect that the Arabs should recognize the Jews as a nation when other equally pious, upright and distinguished Jewish leaders vehemently reject this thesis? Zionism cannot champion democracy in Europe and oppose it for the Arabs in Palestine.

Do the Zionists intend to solve the alleged homelessness

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of the Jews by making the Arabs of Palestine homeless? Finding themselves in such uncomfortable dilemmas as these the Zionists have often resorted in their propaganda to the outworn clichés of the white man's burden by their campaign of name callings and vilification against the Arabs, and they are not only forfeiting good will but also stirring up the problem in parts of the world where it had never existed before, namely, the Moslem and Arab world.

In short, the Zionist program is far worse in my estimation than no solution at all. The proper solution of the Palestine problem has already been presented in the provisions of the White Paper of May 1939. The policy laid down in that paper was the culmination of more than 20 years of ceaseless discussion and repeated official investigation and it represents a realistic and mature judgment of the situation.

It is my belief that if the fundamental terms of this document are honestly and faithfully carried out in spirit and in letter the Arabs would formally accept it as just and binding. Any other solution such as the Zionists suggest is bound to result in a sudden explosion of the simmering eastern volcano.

Thank you, sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Professor Hazam, you began by

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saying that the British seemed to have been painfully unaware of the greater strength of the Arab movement. Has it occurred to you that the British Government and the British people have been aware of conflicting claims and movements over a number of years?

DR. HAZAK: Claims of whom?

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Of two sides.

DR. HAZAK: Among the Arabs or the Arabs and the Jews?

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: The Arabs and the Jews have conflicting claims. Has that occurred to you?

DR. HAZAK: Not before 1917. My statement has reference to the period before 1917.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Your statement was made generally, and this Committee is charged with the consideration of the position today, and I want to bring you to the position of today as far as I can.

DR. HAZAK: May I ask another question? Is the Committee to discuss the validity of the Balfour Declaration or is it to assume that and investigate everything else?

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: The Committee has to take in mind, I imagine, everything relevant, and that is one of the matters for consideration. But the Committee's duty is to consider the position today. You realized that when you came here?

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DR. HAZAM: Yes, but I thought you would look at it in the light of the past as well.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Very well. Did you hear the answer of Professor Hitti given to Mr. Crossman a little time ago? That is criticism of the British Government, that it attempted conciliation of both Arabs and Jews?

DR. HAZAM: That is not my criticism.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Did you hear that?

DR. HAZAM: Yes sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Do I take it you do not agree with that?

DR. HAZAM: No, my criticism of the British Government is that it gave out the Balfour Declaration in the first place.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Yes, that is done, something which was done 28 years ago. But today one must have regard to two sides, must one not?

DR. HAZAM: Presumably.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Can you imagine in the circumstances any better tribute to any government than that it attempted conciliation?

DR. HAZAM: I don't deny that the British Government has attempted conciliation.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You would regard it as something that a government in such circumstances ought to do,

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wouldn't you?

DR. HAZAK: What the ultimate purposes of the British Government in Palestine are, only the British Government, so far as I know, knows. I don't know what the British Government is trying to do in Palestine.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I am not asking you the ultimate purpose. I am asking you whether or not you would regard conciliation as desirable.

DR. HAZAK: Now, you mean? At the present time?

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Throughout these disputes and differences.

DR. HAZAK: I would regard the correction of the original order as being far more desirable than that, but if I had to choose for the subsequent period I think conciliation is the proper thing. I pointed out, I believe, in my paper that the White Paper of 1939 attempts to bring about a certain measure of conciliation which might be accepted by the Arabs.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Now let us look back a stage. Prior to 1917 the lot of the Arabs in Palestine under the Turks was not altogether happy, was it?

DR. HAZAK: Well, I think you might say the same thing about a lot of other people.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I am not asking about other people at the moment.

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DR. HAZAM: I don't think they were any more unhappy than people living elsewhere in the Ottoman empire.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Their position has changed a good deal.

DR. HAZAM: Undoubtedly that is true.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You bear that in mind, that to some extent, at least, the position was relieved a little by the troops of the allied armies, or the British Army.

DR. HAZAM: Plus the Arab Army.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: The position of the Arabs has been helped there?

DR. HAZAM: In what sense, sir?

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: The Arabs in Palestine were freed from Turkish domination and I thought they wished to be so, but you seem hesitant about it.

DR. HAZAM: The question is not that, Sir John. It wasn't simply freedom from the Turks; it was independence that they wanted. If it were freedom from the Turks, they were prepared to revolt against the Turks whether the British were there or not. As I understand it, in looking at the Arab nationalist movement prior to the outbreak of the World War, they had planned an uprising in the course of 1915 or 1916, and it happened that the war came at that time.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: It may have been, though, that

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the British help meant a little at that time.

DR. HAZAM: I am not denying the British help at all in eliminating the Turks.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I wondered if you appreciated it.

DR. HAZAM: I am sorry to have conveyed that notion.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You read a sentence, and I would like you to read it again if you will. You read some sentence about a gift, a marriage of British imperialism to Zionism. Will you read that again?

DR. HAZAM: I will be very glad to. I said, "It has frequently been said that in a sense Arab Palestine might be considered as a wedding gift made to the Zionists upon the marriage of Jewish nationalism to British imperialism."

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Read on a little.

DR. HAZAM: "If so, that gift had not been acquired by the gallant donor at the time it seemed to be so freely tendered."

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I thought there was something more. I would like you to tell me one thing. Bearing in mind that this Committee, composed of members of two nations, is called together to help towards a solution of one of the most difficult problems, do you think a statement of that kind from a professor of history is a help?

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DR. HAZAK: I should like to get a criticism of the statement first, if I may. I mean, what specific objection—it is no help toward the solution of the problem, I quite admit.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: We have ^{had} lots of witnesses before us, and I am glad to say, and to say publicly, that a good many of them, most of them, have tried to help us, but I cannot see how a statement of that kind can help. I wish I could, because I look for help time and again, as I have said.

DR. HAZAK: I am sorry. It is a little flippant, I admit.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Consider this again, if you will: The spirit of conciliation has been referred to. Do you recognize that unless some means to solve this question can be found somewhere there may be further trouble throughout the world?

DR. HAZAK: I pointed that out in my paper, I believe.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Do you think it behooves all good men to do all they can to avoid that?

DR. HAZAK: I certainly do, sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Thank you.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: You mentioned in the beginning of your statement—I think you used one sentence with reference to it. You said that the people of Palestine must be given their immediate independence. Is that right?

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DR. HAZAK: That is the sentiment.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: If that was done do you think that that would result in peace in Palestine in the immediate future?

DR. HAZAK: I believe that if it were not done it wouldn't bring peace.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: Is it your view that peace must be absent from Palestine for years to come?

DR. HAZAK: Under the present arrangement it seems to me that it does not look very promising.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: If peace is the objective, what is to be gained by a grant of independence now?

DR. HAZAK: So far as the Arab is concerned, that would simply be a grant of a promise which they feel had been given to them during the course of the war.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: Let us get away from that. I am trying to consider the prospects of those who are now in Palestine, whether they be Jew or Arab. If independence was granted now it would not mean peace or conciliation between those two peoples?

DR. HAZAK: So long as the Zionists insist upon being political it wouldn't. But if they lived in the country the same as other people and integrated themselves in the population there would be peace. But I am not inclined to

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think it would mean that.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: Is it your view that to obtain peaceful conditions there must be a period of control exercised by some external body for some years before the grant of independence?

DR. HAZAM: From now, do you mean?

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: From now on. I am disregarding any document that came into existence before.

DR. HAZAM: You are asking for my opinion or for the position of the Arabs, or what?

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: I am asking for your opinion.

DR. HAZAM: I think there would be, in accordance with the White Paper, a period of control provided for there, the White Paper of 1939.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: I didn't ask you about the White Paper of 1939. I asked whether you recognized for the purpose of keeping peace between the two groups now the necessity of some external power, or powers having power.

DR. HAZAM: It would seem to me that that would depend on the length of that period from the Arab point of view. We had a similar situation, you remember, in the creation of the Mandate that was supposed to bring about ultimately the condition, presumably, of independence of the people, but it didn't set any date for it.

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MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: May I suggest to you that the length of that period should depend, should it not, on the extent to which Jews and Arabs become friends in Palestine?

DR. HAZAK: They were friends at the time the Mandate was given.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: They haven't been friends since then?

DR. HAZAK: Not with the Zionists that came in after 1917.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: Again, looking to the future, wouldn't a period of that exercise of power by the external authority have to depend upon the progress of conciliation between Jew and Arab in Palestine?

DR. HAZAK: Who would determine that? Would it be the United Nations Organization, or who?

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: If you could just answer the question I put--I don't think that your question arose from that.

DR. HAZAK: I would say if it depended on the United Nations Organization the answer would be in the affirmative.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: If there was the grant of independence now there would, of course, be a Jewish minority.

DR. HAZAM: That is right.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: And in the absence of further immigration that minority would remain. Do you think that that minority would have a very satisfactory position in view of present relationships of Arabs toward the Jews?

DR. HAZAM: Its position, it would seem to me, would depend upon its own attitude toward the situation in Palestine; that is, ^{if} the Zionists in Palestine will live with the Arabs as the Jews had previously lived with the Arabs and integrate themselves in the country as the preceding pre-Balfour Declaration Jews there would be no difficulty whatsoever.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: Do I take it from your answer that the Arabs are not prepared to make an effort to promote good relations with the Jews now in Palestine?

DR. HAZAM: It seems to me that they are, providing they are assured that no more would come in.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: What sort of effort are they prepared to make?

DR. HAZAM: You would have to ask them that question. I am not in a position to answer that question.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I would like to ask you one or two questions. I think we are all impressed with the earnestness of your feeling and the vigor of your approach, but we were warned of it because you said it yourself. Do you

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realize that you weren't completely historical in your approach? You were a little more of the lawyer than you were of the historian, I believe. You felt you had a cause and you are advocating it, and I am not blaming you at all. But you present a sort of-- Let me digress to say I am very much interested after hearing from you as to the perfidy of Great Britain, to have heard the same thing from the Zionists. So if Great Britain has been perfidious to both of you she has done pretty well, because it is evident that both of you have ideas of your own.

May I ask you this question: In all of these proceedings, ever since I have been here, this specter--I don't know whether it is a specter or living flesh or what, but something that frightens some people and stirs up other people. You say that the Arab would get along if the Zionists would give up being Zionists. Now what are you trying to tell me that the Arabs think Zionism is? What is it that they fear in it? It is not the Jewish religion, is it?

DR. HAZAM: Not that I know of.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: It is not the fact that the Jews have put in hospitals and educational institutions there? Is it expressed sometimes and implicit sometimes, the demand that Jews shall constitute the majority in Palestine?

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Is that Zionism in your mind?

DR. HAZAM: In the minds of the Arabs that is one of the essential features of Zionism.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Now then, assuming the majority question was eliminated and the Jews did want to build their own culture and speak Hebrew like in Canada they speak French and all that, that is not what you mean by Zionism? You are really talking about the avowed aim of the Jews of a political component fact in Palestine?

DR. HAZAM: Correct.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I can see that. I have enough Scotch-Irish in me to oppose it.

DR. HAZAM: No majority, in fact, Mr. Hutcheson, that has any backbone at all will submit supinely to becoming a minority.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I understand that. Now we shouldn't have gotten so excited about it, because everybody knows that to be a fact, that no majority wants to become a minority, and lots of minorities like to become majorities, that is all there is to it.

(Laughter)

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Suppose this poor Committee, with neither the authority nor the wisdom of God, is thrown into this thing by the scruff of its neck with the Arabs. If you are their true spokesman, you are militantly prepared

to slit our "wisdom" if we do not give them all they ask. I am asking you, do you think if you were sitting here where I am and I were where you are that you would have any feeling of hope if you could say--and I am looking askance at the Zionists, not even daring to put the words in my mouth--if you could say, "This idea of Zionism, of the ultimate political domination of that country by the Jews is out and Jews, as they construe the Balfour Declaration, which gives it to them, it doesn't make any difference, we are not talking about the past, that is gone. The idea of a Jewish state, they didn't really mean that when they started talking about it. They meant something else. They wanted to get lots of Jews in there and cultivate their land."

Whatever there is, it is out. There is not going to be a Jewish state, as such, recommended by us or recognized by us, but this thing isn't a mere chimera or fiction, this idea of 500,000 Jews over there. It is built up in many ways and there are still some in Europe who have been so broken and distressed and destroyed, all they have had left in their minds and in their lives is the idea of Palestine. They have people there that want them. Maybe no one on earth really wants them but those people over there. But you are not going to have to take any Jewish state, and if you take some more Jews it is not at all apart of the Zionist program, but it is a part of the program that this

Committee lays down, whatever it is, do you still think that just numbering the Jews as Jews, taking a census of the population, the average Arab wouldn't admit them without a row? Or is it all wrapped up with this idea of political domination? That is what I would like to find out.

DR. HAZAM: I think that is pretty close to being accurate. The Arabs feel that they have been living in that country for 1300 years, that they own the land. Their children were born there and they are buried there. They are Arabs who have an affinity with all the other Arabs of the Near East, and they don't want a group whom they consider to be foreigners, who have never been to the Near East, to come in against their will and under force exercised by a third power proceed to economically and politically dominate them, political dominus probably being the main thing in their mind.

So far as economic dominus is concerned, that is operating practically already as far as I can see, and may operate not with respect to Palestine alone, so the Arabs believe, but with respect to the Middle East if the Jews should establish themselves fully in accordance with their program in Palestine.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Suppose it was perfectly clear that the question of political domination in the sense envisioned in the words "Jewish state or commonwealth" was out. The

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Arab would have the same feeling that there are too many Jews, that they don't want any more? Or is it bound up with this political complex?

DR. HAZAM: You mean would they want to get rid of the existing Jews in Palestine or not?

JUDGE HUTCHESON: That is one question.

DR. HAZAM: I don't think so. I think if the doors of immigration were to be opened in other countries, many of the Jews, not only in Europe, would go to those countries, and some of the Jews of Palestine would leave, and the pressure would be relieved there as well. I think I made clear in my paper if it was a question of America, well, practically the en masse population of Palestine would get out and come to the United States in preference to remaining there under the existing situation.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: One final thing: You said you were born over there?

DR. HAZAM: I was born here, but raised over there.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You are a son of a missionary?

DR. HAZAM: No, my parents are of Arab speaking origin with a New England bringing up.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: That looks like it makes a pretty tough combination.

MR. BUXTON: Mr. Chairman, when he spoke of the defacing of Palestine by industry, am I to understand that the native

Arabs object to the industrialization and industrial progress? Hydroelectric plants, development of ports to what we call industry as opposed to agriculture? You would have the land dedicated to agriculture only? You mentioned Pittsburgh and Coney Island. You would block all further industrial development?

DR. HAZAM: No, I think I stated at the same time the Arabs would not be averse to industrialization there, but they preferred to do it themselves and in their own good time. But from the point of view of the Arabs the industrialization of Arabs has a purpose, the purpose being to increase the economic absorptive Palestine for further Jewish immigration, and that is the reason why they object to the forced industrialization of Palestine which the Zionists are aiming to promote.

MR. BUXTON: Of course, there was very little industrialization prior to the last 20, 25 or 30 years. That has been brought almost wholly with the widespread immigration of Jews into Palestine. It was almost purely an agricultural country before.

DR. HAZAM: In terms of countries of the Near East, Palestine had industries for the need of the people there, but nothing relatively great, as compared with Europe, for example, and as compared, presumably, with what the Zionists intend to do there.

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MR. BUXTON: So it is industrialization by non-Arabs rather than industrialization by Arabs to which you object.

DR. HAZAM: No, it is industrialization with a purpose, with a political objective behind it.

MR. BUXTON: Regardless of the purpose, you would rather have no industrialization?

DR. HAZAM: Usually people in the so-called backwoods areas of the world who have within the last generation become more or less politically and nationally conscious would prefer to do their own industrializing rather than to have people from outside with certain motives behind their industrializing come in and do it for them, unless they themselves invite them in there under certain conditions and make contracts with them, as Russia and others have done.

SIR FREDERICK: Would you say that the life of the ordinary Arab—I mean the man right at the bottom—has been improved more rapidly during the last 20 years than would have been the case without this industrialization and immigration?

DR. HAZAM: Do you mean the fellaheen, the peasant class, or the urban class?

SIR FREDERICK: Would you say he is better off now?

DR. HAZAM: I don't think the rural, or fellaheen class, is better off now than he was previously.

SIR FREDERICK: Of course he couldn't very well be worse off.

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DR. HAZAM: In the case where the fellaheen has lost his land and livelihood, naturally he is worse off if he prefers agriculture to whatever he is doing now, if he is doing anything. Usually he has gone to the cities and has become a laborer there.

SIR FREDERICK: I take it that the city population has increased, which indicates that there was something to come there for.

DR. HAZAM: You mean the increase in the population of Palestine is due largely to immigration from the outside?

SIR FREDERICK: Yes.

DR. HAZAM: I believe the Simpson report, or some other report, remarked that was not so at all.

SIR FREDERICK: There has been a considerable increase?

DR. HAZAM: It constituted less than a tenth of the increase, if I remember correctly, of the total population of Palestine.

SIR FREDERICK: Taking all the different countries in the world, how could the industrialization come about unless there were some people with means and equipment and knowledge to start it? I mean if you take the population of Palestine as it was before, fellaheen and all those others, how could they have started industrialization without some assistance, both technical and financial, from outside?

DR. HAZAM: That is very simple, it seems to me. If

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the pledges that had been made to the Arabs during the last World War were totally fulfilled, namely, the creation of an Arab federation, with a government, a single government, such as the Arab League is tending towards now, such a government might have made contracts with foreign capital and capitalists to come in and develop the country under certain conditions such as would protect the country in various ways, economically, politically, or otherwise.

SIR FREDERICK: The question is rather important, because here we have a part of the world which is of very high importance to people of excellent quality, and if there is this feeling against others coming in to help, then that country is not going to be developed. I take it your objection is not to assistance coming from the Jews and from other countries. It is really only because you fear, as you said before, that this assistance includes the taking away of the political majority of the people in the country.

DR. HAZAM: That is correct.

LORD MORRISON: Was there any special reason why you prefaced your statement by saying you were about to make a provocative statement? Did you think we had done anything that we needed to be provoked?

DR. HAZAM: No sir, but I felt that in general the Arab case has been, where presented at all in the western

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world, has been presented rather timidly as compared with the method of presentation which the Zionists had used very effectively, and I decided to present it in a slightly different way than merely timidly.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You realize, Lord Morrison, often the timid presentation is the best.

LORD MORRISON: You thought it was a good moment for full-blooded speech.

DR. HAZAK: That is right.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Would you like to adjourn now?

MR. ROOD: There are two more witnesses from the Institute of Arab-American Affairs.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: It is a quarter past 12:00. Shall we come back at 2:15.

(The meeting adjourned at 12:15 p.m.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. Rood: Dr. Khali Totoh, representing the Institute of Arab-American Affairs.

Dr. Ayedelotte: May I first ask the doctor at this time to give us a word with regard to his record, that is, where he was born, his religious affiliations, and so forth?

Judge Hutcheson: You may proceed.

STATEMENT OF DR. KHALI TOTOH, REPRESENTING
THE INSTITUTE OF ARAB-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

Dr. Totoh: I was born 10 miles north of Jerusalem. My parents were Quakers, so I am a birthright member of the Society of Friends. I received my early education in Palestine in English and American schools. I came to this country later and studied in New England. I got my B.A. degree at Clark University at Worcester, and my Doctor's degree at Columbia.

If I attach any views to my remarks this afternoon, it will be on my association and my connection with Palestine for the last 25 years.

I served as a Y. M. C. A. secretary with the American troops during the last war in France. In 1919 I went to Palestine and was employed by the Palestine Government. I was the head of what is now called the Government College. It was a training center for teachers. I stayed there for 6 years, until Lord Balfour came and upset things over there

and things became very uncomfortable. For one thing, I would not take part in the strike. I got out and I have been associated with Friends' work for the last 18 years. I am now here in this country in order to educate my children.

My present occupation is that I am the executive director of the Institute of Arab-American Affairs. The object of the Institute is to promote good will and mutual understanding between the United States and other countries, especially England, and the Arab-speaking countries in the Middle East. That is the purpose of the Institute.

Mr. McDonald: You are speaking of an American institute, are you? Is it an American institute to which you have referred?

Dr. Totah: Yes.

Mr. McDonald: Are most of the members American or Arabian?

Dr. Totah: We have an official board of Americans, but the staff is Arab, that is, American citizens of Arab origin, and those who sponsor the Institute are American citizens of Arab descent.

I would like to have the misunderstanding about the Palestine problem removed if possible. The Arab-speaking Americans in America would like to play their part and do their share in clearing up this chronic problem in the Middle East.

I had the pleasure of appearing before the Royal

Commission in Jerusalem in connection with the committee which met over there, and I appeared especially on the subject of education. I have been in the field of education practically all my life.

By the way, in order to give a slant on why Zionism is so distrusted and feared in Palestine, I want to say that when I appeared before the Royal Commission in Jerusalem, Dr. Stephen Wise sent a strong protest to Rufus M. Jones of this country because a Quaker like me should appear before the Royal Commission. It is that misunderstanding and lack of agreed public opinion that constitutes one trouble with Zionist tactics over there.

The Friends of Palestine sent me with another gentleman to see English Friends, English Quakers, in 1934, in order to see if we could not find a solution to all this trouble that is taking place in Palestine. We met many important officials and were introduced to many Members of Parliament. I am sorry to say, however, that nothing came of our efforts. English Friends are still interested. Of course, this afternoon I am speaking as the executive director of the Institute of Arab-American Affairs and not for the Quakers of Europe or England.

I would like to attack this problem not from the standpoint of statistics or the number of eggs which Jewish hens produce, or the quantity of milk or butter which Jewish cows produce, but from the standpoint of right and wrong.

I think I am representing Arab opinion in the Arab world when I say that they fear Zionist aims. The Arabs are on the defense. It is not the Arabs who are the aggressive parties in this matter. It is Zionists who are the aggressive parties. The Arabs see no moral justification for the Zionists from Poland, Romania, and Russia, telling them what to do over there. It seems to the Arabs as if everybody is having a hand in the solution of the Arab problem except the Arabs themselves.

2 There was a plan advertized in the New York Times not long ago to remove Arabs from Palestine and Iraq as if they were just so many cattle. The Arabs were never consulted or asked whether they wanted to leave or not.

I would like to give a few quotations to show why the Arabs are afraid. Way back in 1921 there was a disturbance in Palestine and there was a commission, a Hackray Commission, appointed. Dr. Eder, the head of the Zionists, the head of the Jewish Agency there, said the following, as if to pour oil on troubled waters:

"There can be no equality in the membership between Jews and Arabs with a Jewish predominance. The Jews should be armed and the Arabs should not."

That statement was made before an official commission. I am quoting from the proceedings of that commission.

Here is another quotation from an author by the name of

Morris Samuels. He wrote a book, the title of which is "Harvest in the Desert." I believe it was published back in 1941. On page 249 of that book the author said:

"An Arab minority would have to be created in Palestine as the price of the solution if the major part of the Jewish problem is to be universally solved." You see it is intended to subordinate Arab feelings at the price of converting the Arab majority into a minority and turning the present Jewish minority into a Jewish majority.

Rabbi Steinberg said:

"Palestine Arabs know that but for the Jews they would some day enjoy autonomy."

Well, that is just the point. The Zionists have constantly been in the way of developing a grand democratic government in Palestine.

In 1935 a serious effort was made on the part of the British Government to bring about a solution to some extent of the difficulties existing in Palestine. There was an agreement to start some kind of a legislative assembly. If the Arabs boycotted it and the Jews boycotted it, they would go on with it just the same, but the Zionists brought about such influence in the House of Commons at that time that the project was killed. The 1956 and 1958 revolution was the direct outcome of the ill treatment of the Arabs. There is no use; we cannot get justice out of the acts of the Zionists or at the

hands of the British Government which has sponsored Zionism, and therefore the Arab revolt took place which necessitated the dispatch of 30,000 British troops. I was in the midst of it. I know all about it. For 25 years we have had no peace. Ever since the Zionists appeared on the horizon of Palestine, there has been bloodshed and trouble of all kinds. I was born there during the time of the Turks. Some of you gentlemen may ask what were the conditions then. I do not think I would like to go back to that day. But at least there was peace at that time. Now, in view of the last 25 years, what is the prospect? It is my private judgment that as long as Zionism continues there will be trouble in Palestine. Not only in Palestine, because Palestine cannot be quarantined or isolated from its neighboring countries. The trouble has always spread just like the plague, just like the measles, and just like any other epidemic. This winter it spread to Egypt. It went as far as Tripoli. Wherever Zionism appears, there goes trouble and anti-Semitism. Look at what this gentleman, Ziff, says:

"The question is out of the Arab hands and obeys the higher law. Neither is it in the hands of Arab politicians."

Those are the words of Mr. Ziff.

Mr. McDonald: Who is Mr. Ziff?

Dr. Totch: He is a publisher in New York.

Mr. McDonald: Does he have any official position in the Zionist movement?

Dr. Totoh: I do not know what position he has. I think he has worked with the American Christian Palestine Council.

In 1920 I was in Europe and a riot occurred there. In 1921 another riot took place. In fact, it was worse than a riot; it was a minor revolution. In 1921 the occurrence was a very serious one. In 1933 and in 1934 there was further trouble.

I should like to say something about British officials in Palestine. I see statements printed in many different places to the effect that it is British officials who are always inciting Arabs against the Jews. So far as my knowledge goes, I think that is absolutely false. For one thing, the Arabs do not need to be incited by the British or by anybody else. Zionists sometimes attack Arabs. It has been said that the Axis Powers incited the Arabs. Yet, the Arabs had opposed the Jews long before the Axis Powers had appeared.

Very often I find myself debating this question on the platforms of this country. I have four or five engagements this month with the Foreign Policy Association. A Zionist gentleman who frequently comes against me always says that a certain part of the Arabs are the offenders. He has reference to the white-collared class. I should like to say that this is also a great fallacy.

I think the people of Palestine universally oppose Zionism. They are alarmed. They are afraid for their very existence. It is my opinion that there is that danger, indeed.

Zionists have embarrassed Great Britain and British missions greatly. I am sure British missions would do a better job over there if they did not have to concern themselves with the Zionists. I am sure they would be better administrators. Many officials over there have a conscience about the matter, and yet they are supposed to carry out their official duties. It is most embarrassing for them.

There was a Chief Justice, a very fine gentleman by the name of MacDonald, an Irishman.

Mr. Justice Singleton: That was in 1931.

Dr. Totah: Yes, somewhere in there. The District officer of Giza fined the city of Giza a thousand pounds because telephone wires were cut. It was a fine on the whole city. The order was not signed by the regular official. It was signed by a subordinate. The Arabs of the city of Giza took the matter to court and from there it went to the Supreme Court, and Justice MacDonald decided against the government and made the government pay the costs. Chief Justice MacDonald was forced to resign. He got out.

I know of many British officials who had to leave Palestine because the British officials refused to instigate the Arabs.

I for one have had most pleasant relations with the

British officials. I have worked with them. When we have a nice cup of tea with the British, it is delightful. When we play tennis with them, especially if we beat them, it is very nice indeed. Of course, they have their faults, but on the whole I believe that if they were relieved of Zionism they would do a good job.

I might say that the real British are not liked in that part of the world, and it is mostly on account of Zionists. That is, the Zionists embarrass the British.

Malcolm MacDonald said in the House of Commons in 1938, "Britain cannot continue to govern Palestine with bayonets and machine guns." Evidently Britain has been fed up with sending thousands of troops to Palestine. They have tried to find another way to carry out their programs, but the Zionists will not allow them to do so. Now they are trying to get the Americans to pull their chestnuts out of the fire for them.

Judge Hutcheson: When you say "they" you are talking about whom?

Dr. Totch: The Zionists.

Judge Hutcheson: Oh; I thought you meant the British.

Dr. Totch. No. (Laughter.)

Mr. Justice Singleton: Did you say that the British Government is trying to help them?

Dr. Totch: No; if the British Government is doing anything like that, it is beyond my knowledge. But I know the

Zionists are trying to do it.

Now, the Zionists -- and I say Zionists advisedly, because I know from personal relationships that many Jews are not Zionists. That was demonstrated before you yesterday. I know that many Zionists really have a conscience and say that it is not fair, it is not cricket, to treat the Arabs in the way that they are being treated. Of course those persons are in the minority. I have many friends among the Jews. There is a gentleman in this room who is the head of a Jewish agency. I have had tea with him in his home, and he has had tea with me in my home. I have had tea with other gentlemen as well, and I am sure that I can say that if the Arab fear could be removed, I believe the Arabs and Jews would get along together. They lived together for years, and they can do so again.

Many times we have heard about Christians and Moslems. Of course, I am a Christian. A lady in London one time asked me, "When did you first see the light?" I said, "Well, madam, I am sure I do not know what you mean. Are you asking me when I was born?" She said to me, "When did you become a Christian?" That was back in 1930. I said, "Madam, I have been a Christian for more than 1,900 years. My people got their Christianity from Saint Paul. They took it to Rome, and later to England, and gave it to the people there when they were living in the woods." We Christians of the East see eye to eye with the

Moslems on this question, officially and unofficially. Both Christians and Moslems fear Zionists. The question is not a religious problem, because most Zionists are not religious at all. So the religious question need not enter into the matter at all, because it is mostly political and economic. If that question were solved, light would follow.

The Jews are always telling how much good they are doing for the Arabs. I have heard it so much that I am tired of answering it, but I am so glad to have this opportunity of doing so, nevertheless. I am glad to have this great audience listen to me for a moment while I say something about the great benefits which the Zionists are claiming for the Arabs.

ORDEN(4)
WLC 1

Take, for example, hospitals. They are always talking about the hospitals. I am not going to weary the committee with figures, but there are very few Arabs that go into Jewish hospitals. In the northern part of Palestine there are few Arabs, whereas there are hundreds of Jews who go to hospitals maintained by the government and by Christian and mission societies. The same thing applies to schools. The Zionists are always talking about what they have done to eradicate malaria. They have done some things, it is true, but so have the Arabs. The Supreme Moslem Council spent quite a sum of money to drain those swamps over there. So has the Rockefeller Foundation. Many Jews have asked me in this country: "Didn't the Zionists bring water into Jerusalem?" One would think that there was not a drop of water there until the Zionists came there and inaugurated their scheme. But the scheme of pumping water into Jerusalem was commenced and financed by the British Treasury. I think a tax of 5 percent was imposed on the Treasury. I was in the House of Commons when it was considered. The taxpayer also contributed his share to the expense.

I asked the question once on a platform: "Cannot a population increase without the help of Zionism?" When the British took Egypt in 1887, I believe it was, the population of Egypt was approximately 5,000,000. Today, it is something like 16,000,000, and the Zionists had nothing to do with it.

WLC2

I believe that in the Cypress, the Trans-Jordan, and the so-called backward countries, the population has almost doubled. At least, I believe that is true in the Trans-Jordan since 1920. I give you the reason. The first factor for the increase in population in Palestine is the absence of conscription. In Turkestan every young man, when he became 18 years of age, was put into the Army. At the present time, under the mandate there is no conscription. Now, with the hospitals and social facilities which have been started by the various societies and by the Government, the Arabs go more frequently to the hospitals. As my colleague said this morning, the general standard is rising everywhere. The Jews talk about so many improvements here and there, but they soft-pedal the question of Arab friendship. They have not made any headway whatever in winning the hearts of the Arabs. That is the crux of the whole matter. In Arabic we have a maxim which says: "Before you buy a house, make a friend of your neighbor." Well, now, I have often said to my Jewish friends: "Do you not think it is important for you to make friends of the Arabs in Palestine, in the Trans-Jordan and in Syria?" One time my opponent on a speaking platform said to me that Jews enjoy sitting on a volcano. He said, "We enjoy sitting on a volcano." Yes; they like to be martyrs. I would say that what the Zionists have accomplished over there amounts to but little, and unless they win the friendship of the Arabs they will not

WLC3

succeed in getting very far. Up to date, they have not succeeded in winning the friendship of the Arabs, and that is indeed a great failure.

I do not like to have the Middle East alienated from the Western democracies. I received my education in this country. I have a great many friends in England and in America. I like them. I like the atmosphere. I like the Anglo-Saxon education, and the Anglo-Saxon culture. I should like to have them take root in the Middle East, and I would be very much disappointed if America and Great Britain could not devise some scheme whereby they could keep and maintain the friendship of the people of the Middle East on the Western democracy side instead of allowing it to go in some other direction. There is the danger, as I see it. I do not like to see it that way, but I am convinced that it is a danger which confronts us. On this point, I know from personal experience whereof I speak. The Quakers have a concern that the Arabs remain friends with Great Britain and with America. Great Britain and America have done a great deal over there in the way of education and religion. I hope it will not be jeopardized by Zionism.

It is said in New England that no soul is ever saved after the first ten minutes of preaching. Gentlemen, I do not believe I could save your souls by talking any farther.

Perhaps you would like to ask me some questions or move to the next more illustrious speaker. However, while I have

WLC4

offered some criticism, I do not think I should bring an end to what I have said without trying to offer a solution. You want solutions, do you not?

Mr. McDonald: We do. (Laughter.)

Dr. Totch: Very well; here is my solution: I was speaking in a forum in Boston. There were present approximately a thousand people. One gentleman asked: "What is your solution as to the Palestine problem?" I said: "That is a good question." I said to him further: "My solution is to settle the Palestine question in the same way you would settle it in England or in America. That is by the ballot."

What is wrong with that? The Jews are clamoring for democracy. England has suffered and has bled in two bloody wars for democracy. I say let the people of Palestine, including the Jews -- there are more than a half million Jews in Palestine -- let them vote. New York State and California settled a serious problem. Let there be created a legislative council with no strings tied to it, and let the people of Palestine both Arabs and Jews, send their legislative representatives to a meeting and decide on the problem. I, for one, would go on the stump and try to use my influence, if I have any, with the Arabs, in order to get them to accept as many Jewish immigrants as that council would decide on. It might be said, of course, that the Jews were in the minority. That may be true. But suppose the Irish were in the minority in Boston, which I know

WLC5

is not the fact, would there be any fear that they would not be treated properly? As Mr. Samuels says, let us have a fresh start. Let us begin with democracy for the Arabs, and let them have renewed faith in Western democracy. It is quite apparent that the Arabs in the East have begun to lose faith. Just consider how many white papers the British Government has issued. In 1930, the government issued a statement of policy which, in my opinion, was quite good. I talked to many Arabs and tried to convince them that it was good. I think that Sir John Simpson did a good job. The ink was not dry on that statement of policy before Wiseman resigned and a great furor was caused and MacDonald had to write a letter qualifying the statement of policy, and the Colonial Minister had to get out. I stopped with some of those people in England.

Then there was another white paper in 1939 which the Jews called the black paper. It seems to me that this white paper represents the minimum that should be given to the Arabs. What is wrong with it? The Jews have had so many immigrants, and if it is only realized how many illegal immigrants come into the country it will be seen why there is some opposition to the great immigration of Jews. Perhaps 30,000 or 40,000 came into the country in Polish uniforms. I hope the Judge will not ask for documentary evidence on that point, because I do not have any. A Jewish acquaintance of mine said, "We

will raise an Army of a hundred hundred thousand Jewish troops and keep both British and Arabs out of Palestine." I told him that was a rather irresponsible statement. A Jewish-Arab told me that in two weeks American troops would go there. I can't vouch for that, but that is what I was told. (Laughter.)

Gentlemen, that is the gist of my solution. I suggest that a democratic form of government be established in Palestine at once. And it is my honest hope and prayer that the Arabs will treat Jews and everybody else in a human manner. I have no doubts that if the fears to which I have referred were removed the Arabs would be reasonable to the Jews because they are a most hospitable people. You may know that over there as guests of the Arabs you will be treated right.

Gentlemen, I thank you.

Mr. Justice Singleton: I have only one or two questions to ask. You put forward your idea of a solution which amounts to an important grant of the rights of a state to Palestine as it is now constituted. Were you in this room this morning?

Dr. Totch: I was.

Mr. Justice Singleton: Did you hear what Dr. Hitti said? He said that whichever way the situation were treated would mean war or bloodshed.

Dr. Totch: I do not know just what Dr. Hitti meant. I doubt if any Arab would object to the British settling the question. It all depends on what basis.

Mr. Justice Singleton: We have been advised by one who represents the Arabs in the America, at least, that if the British tried to settle the problem it would mean bloodshed. Is that your understanding?

Dr. Totah: It looks as though the Zionists are in for trouble and will continue it in order to strike at the white paper.

Mr. Justice Singleton: You add to that which you have said by way of a solution some words about an immediate immigration, and I gathered from what you said that it was not only going on, or taking place, but would continue unless stopped.

Dr. Totah: That is what the Zionist people are saying. I think it is true.

Mr. Justice Singleton: If the course you suggest were to be adopted, and if the British troops were not present, who would stop the immigration?

Dr. Totah: The Arabs would like to help.

Mr. Justice Singleton: They would have to do it if it were to be done, would they not?

Dr. Totah: The present armed forces are British. The Arabs are not so well armed. It is the Jews who are armed.

Mr. Justice Singleton: The fear on the Arab side is that bloodshed will follow democracy or the vote, that it will follow immediately.

Dr. Totah: I do not know. Why not let the Jews and

Arabs get together and decide.

Mr. Justice Singleton: That is part of the Arab desire, is it not?

Dr. Totah: To have bloodshed?

Mr. Justice Singleton: No, I say that that is what the Arabs fear would follow democracy by vote. It is feared that with the Arabs being in the majority, they would endeavor to prevent any immigration.

Dr. Totah: You mean they would stop immigration?

Mr. Justice Singleton: Yes.

Dr. Totah: Yes.

Mr. Justice Singleton: All I say is that might well result in bloodshed.

Dr. Totah: Yes.

Mr. Justice Singleton: This thought has come to my mind. The Quakers have always been renowned for their love of peace.

Dr. Totah: Right.

Mr. Justice Singleton: I believe that every member of this committee looks for peace and if the solution which you have suggested promised it, it would be of even greater help.

Dr. Totah: Suppose you try it and see how it goes.

Mr. Justice Singleton: Someone has used the expression, "Out of the frying pan into the fire", and I like neither the
or
frying pan or the fire.

Dr. Totah: But on its own merits, I think it is quite proper. I think the granting to Palestine of a democratic government would be quite proper.

Mr. Justice Singleton: Very well. If you meant to suggest a little time ago that a British judge in Palestine or anywhere else was removed because he gave a judgment against the British or Palestinian Government, then I think you misunderstand British principles. If you were right, there would be few judges left. (Laughter.)

Dr. Totah: With all due respect to your position, sir, as a judge, I think justice in England is one thing and justice in Palestine is another. They do not do the same thing. For example, the head of a Jewish agency was murdered. The murderer was apprehended. He was taken to the courts and then acquitted. If he were in England, he would have been found guilty. In Palestine, he was not found guilty. I think I am right on that.

Mr. Justice Singleton: I think you will find that in many cases people in England who are guilty are acquitted. (Laughter.)

Mr. Crossman: I should like to develop one line of thought which you dropped into the discussion but did not develop. You said if the Arabs did not get their way they might resort to a use of powers. You said that you did not want to expand on that. During 1939 and 1940,

If I understood you rightly, we had some experience of what I think you meant, which was that if we did not capitulate the Arabs would tend to support the power which was exercised against them. I should like to know what you meant.

Dr. Totch: I meant that there is a power which is maneuvering quite openly in the Middle East. It is currying Arab favor, and I would hate to have the Arabs bamboozled in that way.

Mr. Crossman: I should like to know whether you think it is a better to persuade British or America to work out a policy which would virtually result in blackmail?

Dr. Totch: I would not call it blackmail. That is not my intention.

Mr. Crum: Dr. Totch, are you familiar with the pamphlet entitled "Christians and Zionists"?

Dr. Totch: Yes.

Mr. Crum: Do you subscribe to what is said in the pamphlet?

Dr. Totch: Not as an Apostle's Creed.

Mr. Crum: Let me read you one sentence from it. I read from page 7.

"The doors to Palestine should be opened for Jews desiring to leave there just as widely as the economic conditions of the land permit."

Do you subscribe to that statement?

Dr. Totch: Now, let me explain -- (Laughter.)

Yesterday, the question came up with Mr. Rosenwald. He said that Palestine should be opened for the Jews. If the Jews were to go there as Baptists, as Quakers, as Methodists, with no ulterior motives, perhaps they should be given the opportunity to go there. But when they go there with the purpose of doing something else or accomplishing further objectives, that is something else.

Mr. Crum: I read further from the pamphlet.

"The deep interest of Jews in Palestine springing from their religious tradition, must be fully recognized."

So I would take it that you would not ask them to go into Palestine and give up their faith, would you?

Dr. Totch: I don't ask them to give up their faith.

Mr. Crum: I thought you said something about it being all right for them to go there as Baptists, for example.

Dr. Totch: I spoke of them going in as a faith and not as a nationality.

Mr. Crum: I think you said that the trouble was started by Lord Balfour; is that right?

Dr. Totch: Yes.

Mr. Crum: Have you heard some of the other evidence which has been put in which would seem to indicate that President Wilson knew of the Balfour document, and also some other evidence which would seem to indicate that his then Royal Highness Prince Nitze knew of the Balfour policy and approved of it?

Dr. Totch: There is an addition to that letter which said that providing everything is not carried out in accordance with it the scheme would be nul and void.

Mr. Crum: Dr. Totch, are you not thinking of the Arab-Jewish agreement of January 3, 1919?

I think, if you will refresh your recollection of the record, you will find that there was a subsequent exchange of correspondence between Prince Nitze and Justice Frankfurter in which there was no reference to what you have in mind. I will read you just one sentence from Prince Nitze's letter of March 5, 1915.

"The Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the problems submitted yesterday by the Zionist organization. We will do our best, so far as we are concerned, to help them through. We assure the Jews a most hearty welcome home."

Dr. Totch: Prince Nitze was harrassed at the League of Nations, and I would recommend you to read Jeffery's book in which he gives the Palestine situation very careful explanation.

Mr. Crum: What is the name of the book?

Dr. Totch: Palestine Reality.

Major Manningham-Buller: Dr. Totch, I gather that you share the view expressed by Mr. Rosenwald yesterday that the Arabs and Jews in Palestine should seek to become Palestinians

and merge their separate nationalities; is that your view?

Dr. Totah: I think that the legislative council could decide what to do.

Major Manningham-Buller: I am concerned with a merger of the separate nationalities.

Dr. Totah: By all means, I would give the Jews a share in the interests of the country, socially, economic, and others.

Major Manningham-Buller: Sinking the nationalities into the background?

Dr. Totah: Why, yes. I think Palestine should join with Arab alike. I think that once Palestine is constituted into a democracy, many of the difficulties that are now being experienced there would be corrected. I think it would be true with regard to education. For example, I wrote a book on the history of Palestine and because in that history I discussed the Balfour declaration, the book was banned by the government and not permitted to be taught in government schools. Textbooks were controlled. National songs were not allowed in the Arab schools.

Major Manningham-Buller: Is it right to say that this article to which reference has been made stresses changed nationalism in the Arab schools and also expresses the view that separate nationalist teaching in these schools was one of the great factors in stopping the Jews and Arabs living in Palestine from getting together in friendship?

Dr. Totah: That is true. Once the Zionist question

of majorities is acknowledged, I think both Jews and Arabs will be less demonstrative of nationalism.

Major Manningham-Buller: Would you suggest that the educational system should be limited to mixed schools of Jews and Arabs?

Dr. Totch: Jews, for example, want their children brought up to know the Hebrew Language. They want them to be trained in it. On the other hand, the Arabs do not want their language to be killed, so what is the common ground? I suggest that the primary schools, that is, the Jewish primary schools, teach in Hebrew and the Arabs teach in Arabic.

Major Manningham-Buller: Do you think it would promote a good feeling if both Arabs and Jews had their children taught in the same school instead of in separate schools?

Dr. Totch: By all means, it would be the best thing if you could create such an atmosphere in order that Arab boys and Jewish boys could stay together. In the school which I stay attended we had Jewish boys. On the whole, they got on famously. When you play football on the same team you forget that you are Jewish or Arab. Children should be taught together, but the question of language is a great interest, and behind that comes nationalism.

Major Manningham-Buller: If they were taught together, it would mean that the Arabs would have to give up some of their nationalistic feeling and the Jews would have to give

up some of their nationalistic feeling.

Dr. Totch: Do you not think that the people are not so wild, after all, about nationalism? In Palestine, you find nationalism, but once relations are improved I think there will be less nationalism. Does a man have to go on the street corner to tell the whole world that he loves his wife? No. It is just taken for granted. A Jew or an Arab does not have to tell the whole world about his nationalism. He feels it. But there are other things which are keeping the Jew and the Arab apart.

Mr. Phillips: May I say that other countries are solving that problem. In Canada they have two languages, and in Switzerland they have three languages. Yet the schools are operated very satisfactorily. The youth of these countries are brought up not in one language but in several languages.

Dr. Totch: But the French Canadians have no desire to control the English-speaking majority of Canada and neither do the English-speaking inhabitants of Canada desire to control the French-speaking people. If they try to do that, there will be trouble.

Mr. Phillips: To what extent do the Arabs in Palestine know Hebrew and to what extent do the Jews know Arab? Does everybody know a little of the other language, of both languages?

Dr. Totch: On the whole, the Arabs do not know Hebrew. There are Arabs who know Hebrew, but there are more Jews who

speak Arab.

Mr. Phillips: Do they teach Arabic in the Jewish schools?

Dr. Totah: They do to a limited extent.

Mr. Phillips: But Hebrew is not found in the Arabic schools.

Arabs
Hebrews

Dr. Totah: No, the Arabs will not study it.



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Mr. Phillips: Do you have any such thing as historical societies, literary societies, or learned societies of any kind, in which scholars of both races collaborate?

Dr. Totoh: We started a club in Jerusalem for both nationalities, but pretty soon complaints were made that politics was coming in. Politics poisons everything.

Mr. Phillips: You cannot make a success of any of these Jewish activities?

Dr. Totoh: Very little. You have Jewish clubs, Arab clubs, Jewish chambers of commerce and Arab chambers of commerce.

Mr. Phillips: Do you have conservatives, that is, conservative individuals of both races who are trying to overcome those conditions?

Dr. Totoh: Yes, to some extent. But I think you might say that it is universal that the Arabs are afraid of the Jews. If you give the Zionists one inch, they take a yard.

Mr. Phillips: Does the Hebrew make any attempt to get Arabic students in the Hebrew schools?

Dr. Totoh: Yes, but they teach the Arab everything in Hebrew. I think that any university training in the East will have to be English or French, and in order to be the most practical, it must be English.

Mr. Phillips: Do you have a single Arab student in the Jewish University?

Dr. Totoh: I think there are a few, but not many.

Mr. Phillips: Do you have any English boys in your schools?

Dr. Totoh: We have some. Up until the revolt of 1938 we had some. A strike in transportation took place, and since then the English boys have not come.

Mr. Phillips: Would you say that you might have as many as a third of one race and two-thirds of the other?

Dr. Totoh: Well, in Jerusalem you would have Romanians, Greeks, Czechoslovakians, and so forth.

Mr. Phillips: How many boys do you have in your school?

Dr. Totoh: About 400 boys and about 300 girls.

Mr. Phillips: How many Jewish boys do you have?

Dr. Totoh: At most, probably about five. The question of Kosher food comes in.

Judge Hutcheson: We have two or three other witnesses who are to be heard this afternoon. I think we should move along to some extent on the question of how many boys you have in your school, and so forth. Let us go ahead. I do not want to supervise the examination, but I think we should make some progress.

Mr. Crick: I understood this morning that Dr. Hitti was a man who might be trusted most appropriately on the question of economic affairs. Is that right?

Dr. Totoh: I cannot understand you, sir.

Mr. Crick: Do you agree with the general economic thesis that it would be impossible to bring about any marked improvement in the standards of living without two conditions, namely, an investment in capital, and an exercise of enterprise, either public or private?

Dr. Totoh: I can point to Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, and other neighboring countries who have got along without the importation of capital.

Mr. Crick: Would you agree as a general observation, irrespective of geography, that those items of capital and the exercise of enterprise are necessary? Taking that to be assumed, would you agree that there has been substantial improvement in the Arab standard of living in Palestine during the last 25 years?

Dr. Totoh: There has been.

Mr. Crick: Would you be willing to tell me where the capital and the enterprise have come from which generated that improvement in the standard of living to which you have referred? Did it come from the Arab, the Jewish, or the external forces?

Dr. Totoh: Well, let me explain. I come from a town of 5,500. There is not a Jew there. The standard of living which you would find in that town is as high as in any town of that size, or just as high, as Jewish standards are. They have bathrooms in their homes, Frigidaires if they could get

them, furniture, books, pianos, and so forth. Education has done a great deal to raise Arab standards, and they do not get that from the Zionists.

Mr. Crick: Yes, but where does the money come from?

Dr. Totoh: A great deal of citrus is sent from that country to England and to Europe, and the Arabs own more than half of the citrus industry. They have a soap industry, and they make some rugs also. The money that comes to the Zionists comes in and goes out again.

Mr. Crick: I got the impression from something that I heard that an improvement in the standard of living in some degree would remove what the gentleman in your memorandum referred to as predatory leaders. I should like to have you identify them a little more closely. I am not clear who these predatory leaders were.

Dr. Totoh: I am about to admit that I do not get it clear to myself.

Mr. Crick: That is all. I thank you.

Mr. McDonald: Dr. Totoh, the first reference that you gave us, was not accompanied by any indication as to where it was from.

Dr. Totoh: It was at the Haycraft Mission.

Mr. McDonald: Do you have the reference to the document itself?

Dr. Totoh: No, but I have it in my notes.

Mr. McDonald: It was before the Haycraft Mission, was it?

Dr. Totoh: It was during that mission in 1921.

Mr. McDonald: It will be part of the testimony?

Dr. Totoh: Yes.

Mr. McDonald: That is all.

Judge Hutcheson: Are there any more questions?

Thank you very much, Dr. Totoh.

Mr. Rood: Also for the Institute of Arab-American Affairs, Mr. Wilbert Smith.



STATEMENT OF MR. WILBERT SMITH.

Mr. Smith: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am very glad to be here. I have no Hittite ancestors. My ancestors were English on both sides. They came over here several hundred years ago.

Mr. Chairman, I am a member of the board of sponsors of the Arab Institute, and I am speaking in a personal capacity. I am the secretary of the Wilmington Council of Churches, but I am not speaking on their behalf.

I think I have told you why I am here and why I am sponsoring the Arab-American Institute. It is not because I am a professor or have skill in economics, but for 40 years I have been working on this problem of good will among the various nations. I spent several years in education. I spent the period of the great war in India, working with Indians and Moslems of the Indian Army and of the British Army. Since 1920 I have been in Cairo, Egypt, working with students and the modern educated Egyptians.

The remarks which I am about to make are based on the speaker's experience since 1907 in service for and among non-Christian peoples throughout the world through the Christian missionary enterprise, in endeavoring to interpret American and Protestant Christianity to those people, and to help American Christians understand the needs, hopes, and aims of those nations.

From 1914 to 1919 I worked among university students in India, as well as with the Indian army and the British troops and civilians in that country. I believe I have already referred to that.

From 1920 to 1941 I was stationed in Cairo, Egypt, responsible for establishing and supervising Y. M. C. A.'s in Egypt and Palestine. I traveled frequently to Syria and Turkey, as well. During this period I was also connected with the Near East Christian Council and the Egypt Inter-Mission Council, in both of which were American missionary societies, and which as well worked among both Jews and Mohammedans. Our Y. M. C. A.'s include Jews, Moslems, and Christians.

The nature of my work gave me intimate and active contact with government officials, businessmen, educators, journalists, both native and foreign, and of all the religious communities. I had unusual opportunities for hearing at close range, and experiencing in daily contacts, the conflicting views and objectives which exist in those areas. I have been in touch by correspondence and by frequent visits with returning travelers.

Since 1941 I have spent half my time in speaking in American and Canadian audiences, churches, schools and colleges, service clubs, chambers of commerce, women's clubs, and Y. M. C. A.'s and Y. W. C. A.'s. I have traveled from coast to coast, and from Canada to Florida. Throughout

these journeys I have been amazed to find that along with much interest in the Palestine problem there is almost complete ignorance as to the place of the Arabs in that situation, the relation of Palestine to the Moslem world, and the importance of the Moslem world to world peace. The common impression, I found, was that Palestine is inhabited by "Jews and the other inhabitants," and that the only issue of importance is whether or not Great Britain will compel the Arabs to admit the persecuted Jews of Europe. Growing antagonism to Great Britain has developed as a consequence, and Anglo-American cooperation is linked to the question of establishing a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.

This latest development of a threat to Anglo-American relationships alarms me. I find it among Congressmen and Senators, clergymen, businessmen, and educators. To subordinate that vital connection between the United States and Great Britain to the Palestine problem seems to me not only dangerous to the future peace of the world, but also to American as well as British influence throughout the Moslem world, which stretches from China to Gibraltar, and includes 250 million people.

As an American and a Christian, I am deeply concerned about the plight of the Jews of Europe and the necessity for adequate provision for them, immediate and in the future. A prominent Zionist leader asked me recently, "What is the

alternative to Palestine?" When I answered, "Have you ever thought that wealthy, Christian, democratic America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, even England, might open the doors for them?" the reply was, "We gave up that hope long ago." To me that was a terrible indictment of the sincerity and reality of American Christian leaders who insist that, instead of taking any share of the burden on themselves, the Arabs of Palestine should be compelled to provide the needed asylum.

Caring for the homeless Jews of Europe, and the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine, ought to be handled as two separate problems. They are identical only because Zionists insist that they shall be, and that the plight of European Jews be used to accomplish the political aims of Zionism; and also that Christian American leaders are unwilling to face the unpopularity of advocating the admission of these Jewish refugees to this country. This is perfectly understandable, but it is certainly not Christian, democratic, or American.

My English ancestry passed on to me and to my family a love of fair play and a sense of responsibility for our needs. That may be too bad. But, we have it. I think that that probably is why I am so uneasy as I find in this country an unwillingness to go to the trouble of finding out what are the facts in the total picture of Palestine. My Zionist friends -- one of them has just come in; I think he is my friend. As I

say, my Zionist friends have been very unhelpful in making it possible to get a hearing on the Arab or the British side of the question.

That brings me to the next point, which is to my mind even more serious. I refer to the growing antagonism to Great Britain, and its development as a consequence of this agitation. Anglo-American cooperation is linked to the question.

In my own town of Wilmington, a few weeks ago, at a protest meeting held when an American Congressman was present, the question arose as to the American loan to England and linked with it was the question of whether or not the Zionists should have a commonwealth in Palestine. Now, you would think that that was just newspaper talk. But I have talked with two Senators since then who said that they were prepared to oppose in the Senate the American loan to Great Britain unless the Jews were admitted to Palestine.

I happen to agree that the most important thing in connection with the U. N. O. is Anglo-American cooperation. I may be wrong, but I am so convinced of the importance of linking these two questions together that I am quite prepared to have you call me a fanatic or anything you like if you will only prevent what I fear taking place.

The latest development in the threat to Anglo-American relationships alarms me. I find the situation to exist

even among clergymen. I am a layman myself. Only yesterday one of the leading men of my city said, "I will have nothing to do with this thing you are interested in, because this iniquitous British Empire is not going to set up a Jewish commonwealth." He spoke for a great many people, and I think it is a pretty serious situation. As an American Christian I am vitally concerned with the plight of Jews in Europe, and the necessity for adequate provision for them in the immediate time ahead and in the future.

During the past two years I have sat in groups of political Zionists and Arabs and people like myself who have been trying to interpret the Christian message to the Moslem and the Jewish groups. I expressed myself in those meetings. One of those men who sat in the meeting, and who now sits in this room, turned to me and said, "Now, what is your alternative of Palestine for a refuge for the Jews?" I said, "Have you ever thought of the possibility that the United States and Canada might open their doors?" Palestine has an area of about the size of Vermont. It has a population of about 150 per square mile. Vermont has a population of about 34 per square mile. Of course, there is an alternative. It might not be democracy. But I think it is the American Christian conscience. I think it is my job and the job of the leaders of the American Christian church to appeal to that conscience and not let the thing go by default and be satisfied merely with the statement

that it cannot be done.

The basic issue in Palestine, as I see it, is the attempt to deny the Arabs that right of self-determination for which World Wars have been fought, and which the Arabs honestly believe the Allies in 1914-1919 promised to give them along with other peoples liberated from the central Axis Powers. This is more than a political question. It is a moral and spiritual one. Any permanent and satisfying solution must be based on ethical and Christian principles. Along with the principle of the right of a people to determine its own destiny, is that accepted at San Francisco for the U. N. O., namely, "The strong ought to bear the burdens of the weak." Both are denied in the Zionist program for a Jewish commonwealth to be imposed from without upon a people powerless to resist.

In the new world order now being organized, there will be two factors of great significance, namely, power and influence. I want to emphasize the place of influence in contrast to power. In the long run, U. N. O. will live or die in proportion to its ability to win and hold the voluntary allegiance of the nations of the world. The methods by which that voluntary allegiance is gained and held are no secret. Influence is based on confidence in the integrity and sincerity of those who possess power. Will that power be used to develop and strengthen the capacity for self-

government and democratic processes, or will it be used to impose from outside patterns of political life which are not desired? Will small, weak peoples be treated as pawns, or as self-respecting communities whose destinies are to be shaped by their own inner response?

The proposed transformation of the Arab majority in Palestine into a minority under the domination of aliens from another continent has resulted in a steadily growing anti-Semitism throughout the Near East. There was some in 1921.

11 It has created growing distrust of Great Britain's honesty and purpose toward the Arab world. A leading Arab editor told me in 1941 that when the Balfour Declaration was being considered, the late Ormsby-Gore visited the Near East and consulted with him, among others. He assured the editor that there was no intention of establishing a commonwealth, but that the word "Homeland" meant what it said and did not mean "State." On that assumption that editor, among others, agreed to support the proposal. The eventual reversal of that position threw him and his fellows into violent opposition, so that the Arab press ever since has been antagonistic. And I know that this antagonism has engendered no little of the distrust which the Egyptians, among others, have shown to British political objectives. To my mind, one of the great casualties of World War I was the loss of confidence in Anglo-Saxon integrity to which the Balfour Declaration greatly contributed.

America has had an influence in the Near East disproportionate to its commercial and political interests. Through American educational and philanthropic institutions which were established decades ago, Near Eastern peoples have come to expect disinterestedness and fair play. American influence was recognized and, if not quite appreciated, it was recognized by our British friends. A British High Commissioner refused to endorse the Egyptian, American-sponsored Y. M. C. A. because he believed it created a friendship for Americans that resulted in the sale of American merchandise. Another British High Commissioner in Palestine told me that he counted heavily on the influence of the American Y. M. C. A. in Jerusalem to reconcile Arabs, Jews, and the British. Influence is important, in politics and in commerce.

Now, American influence is seriously threatened by the nation-wide propaganda of American Christian leaders and politicians, to compel Great Britain to compel the Arabs to shoulder the burden of European Jews. If American power is so used, then American influence will surely suffer. That was exactly the statement made to me by a Moslem from the Near East who was a delegate to the San Francisco Conference. Even though a Moslem, he had cooperated with me in our Christian Association program because he believed it was trying to demonstrate what he called American principles of mutuality, cooperation, respect for the rights and opinions

of men, regardless of race, nationality, or religion.

The Arab peoples of Palestine, and throughout the Near and Middle East, need and desire the kind of help that Christian America can give, such as education in which future leaders will be trained. The movement for independence from Turkey that began among the Arabs toward the end of the last century was in large part led by men who had been trained in the American University at Beirut.

One need not wonder at the virulent attitude some Zionists take towards that institution.

The Arabs are an individualistic people. They need help in developing democratic, social, and political institutions. The very fact of their weakness and need is given as a reason why they should be dispossessed. As an American Christian who has lived in that area for years and is well aware of their weaknesses, I venture to assert that we have a responsibility for doing what we can to assist, not to exploit or degrade them, even for the sake of avoiding inconvenience and perhaps discomfort in America. American -- and British -- help along these lines will be welcomed. It may not always be so, as witness the attitude of Syria and Lebanon Arabs to French culture today.

Oil, communications such as air and water, markets, and so forth, are undoubtedly matters of great moment and will have great weight in political decisions regarding Palestine.

In that connection I recall a remark made to me in Jerusalem on my last visit there, by a prominent Zionist, to the effect that one object of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine, instead of elsewhere, was that the Jews might be in position to compel attention to their wishes by virtue of their position in relation to these three interests. It did not sound like a peace-producing objective.

The political and economic influence of world-wide Jewry is acknowledged. But it may well be considered whether the good will and confidence of 250 million Moslems in strategic positions throughout Asia and Africa may not also be potent in the immediate and long-range plans for a cooperative world order. A Jewish commonwealth in Palestine will be an abiding affront to the Moslem world, and furnish tangible evidence to their minds that Anglo-Saxon Christendom disregards its own basic principles and cannot be trusted except on the level of power politics where it may find them convenient.

I believe that fundamental, democratic, Christian principles are at stake, and that any settlement that disregards them will only breed future trouble.

I think that is all I care to say.

Judge Hutcheson: I have no questions.

Mr. Smith: May I add one word? You gentlemen of the committee have received a lot of literature which has been called to your attention. Back in 1920 a famous English

woman wrote a small book on the problems of Palestine. which I think the committee would find very helpful.

Judge Hutcheson: Can you furnish me with a copy of the book for the use of the committee?

Mr. Smith: I cannot. I have only the copy which I now have before me.

Judge Hutcheson: If you will let me borrow it, I will see that it is returned to you.

Mr. Smith: Very well.

Mr. Rood: The next witness is Albert Einstein.

(Dr. Albert Einstein appeared as a witness, and his statement will appear later.)

Judge Hutcheson: Dr. Einstein, will you make a statement, or will you be questioned by Dr. Ayedelotte?

Dr. Einstein: No. First, I have to excuse myself for my faulty English, but it is my best English. Secondly, I have come here to make a contribution which most of the people here will not enjoy. But I do so sincerely, and I hope it will be taken in the same spirit.

Judge Hutcheson: Will you speak a little louder, sir?

Dr. Einstein: Yes, I will try.

STATEMENT OF DR. ALBERT EINSTEIN.

Dr. Einstein: In 1921 I was happy to be the guest of Lord Haldane, one time Minister of War, and a very clever man. In the conversation which I had with him there came up the Jewish Palestine question. He said to me, "You had better not occupy yourself with this question but keep away from it."

I was very astonished to hear him make that statement. It was a short time before the Balfour Declaration was made, and I could not make up my mind what was the motive. It took me many years to understand the meaning of the declaration. I was greatly disappointed in what Lord Haldane had said, for I could not see any reason for him to say this, and I feel that he said it in kindness.

Now, I had a very high opinion of our British colonial world; that is, I did at that time. Now I have no more opinion. I want to explain to you how I came to my changed

impressions.

There are, of course, a lot of things that one hears here and hears there. I wish to explain why I believe that the difficulties in Palestine exist. First, I believe that the difficulties between the Jews and the Arabs are artificially created, and are created by the English. I believe, if there would be a really honest government for the people there, and get the Arabs and the Jews together, there would be nothing to fear. I cannot convince you gentlemen, but I can only say what convinces me.

I may first state what I think about British colonial rule. I find that the British colonial rule is based on a native. Do you know what that means? The native was exploited already before the English came into the land. Of course, the English had two interests. The first was to have raw materials for their industry. Also the oil in those countries. I find that everywhere there are big land owners who are exploiters of that race of people. These big land owners, of course, are in a precarious situation because they are always afraid that they will be gotten rid of. The British are always in a passive alliance with those land-possessing owners which suppress the work of the people in the different trades.

It is my impression that Palestine is a kind of small model of India. There is an attempt to dominate, with the

help of a few officials, the people of Palestine, and it seems to me that the English rule in Palestine is absolutely of this kind. It is difficult to imagine how it could be otherwise. Of course, we must consider there are different nationalities in Palestine.

From time to time, people are saying through the newspapers this and that, people who have lived in those countries. I wish to say why I came to this kind of conviction. I regret very much that I had to come to such a conviction because before that time I was an admirer of the British system. I am compelled to consider in Palestine the Mufti. Professor Hoodi is an authority on that subject. He has given solid facts concerning the election of this Mufti to the position he occupies now. The electors did not elect him. They refuted him. The separatists used their power to bring the majority of this body to his important position. And why? He was a politician. When war came and the star of the Axis Powers was very shiny and bright, some believed that it was better to work together with the Axis and not with the English, who are a little mild, but it was better to work with the German so that they could exterminate the people easily.

Now, of course, the British are not responsible for that. In fact, they were very much opposed to it. I am not sure where the Mufti is now.

Judge Hatcheson: Excuse me, Dr. Einstein. Did you

say "the Mufti"?

Dr. Einstein: Yes, the Mufti.

Now, how can I explain otherwise than that national trouble-making is a British enterprise? It is not so easy to get information about all that is going on that cannot be directly proved. For instance, if there were pogroms against the Jews in Palestine, there was a taking away of arms so that the Jews could not defend themselves. It is hard to prove all this, so I will not insist too much on such a thing. But there are certain things which are for me very strong arguments.

For instance, there was presented the committee in 1929 a letter from a sheik promising no punishment for anybody participating in this activity. The sheik sent a letter. He was high official to the High Commission. I don't know if he is dead. A letter from him was presented, and in this letter it was promised that this man would not be punished if he was participating in this activity.

Dr. Aydelotte: Give the name of the man who wrote that letter.

Dr. Einstein: Mills.

Mr. Crossman: Is this letter one which has been filed in the records of this Commission?

Dr. Einstein: I do not know.

Mr. Crossman: From where did you get it?

Dr. Einstein: This, I cannot say. I cannot prove it. I have not the time nor the possibility to do it. But, I can assure you that the people who told me that are reliable people. So I cannot say that it is true, but I believe it is very suspicious at least.

There is a rather simple police official who was in the disorder of 1929. He was active himself. Apparently, out of great conscience, he wrote two books. Of course they were not masterpieces of literature, but those books were about the duties he had to fulfill in his capacity as a police official and concerning his office in 1929. I can give you the titles of the books. I think this is very important. The name of the man is Douglas V. Duff. The title of the first book is "Sword For Hire. The Saga of a Modern Free Companion." That was published in 1934. The next book was entitled "Galilee Galloper." That was by the same author and published in 1935. If what he says is true, it is a very important document. I am convinced that the people who informed me are honest and intelligent people. I have no reason to disbelieve them.

It is very easy to make out the contents of these books. They are little books that are easy to read. It would not be a great achievement to do so. I think it would be possible to find them even in the Library of Congress. I think it is very interesting to read the confession of a man who acted as

a British police officer. It is not probable that such a man would write lies, for if he lived in Britain and he wrote falsehoods about what happened with him, it would become very bad for him. If it could be shown that what he wrote were lies, it would be very embarrassing for him.

Well, those are some of the things that gave me a very strong impression and supported my convictions. I think there will be no peace between Jews and Arabs, but I know also from people who know many people in Palestine that the pogroms are not half as bad as the conditions brought about by the professional politicians. I believe that people, if they are able to live in a half-way satisfactory condition, will not be so much interested in politics if it is not artificially produced by some interested person.

So, I believe it is not good to take more of your patience. When I saw certain facts come to me, then I formed my impressions.

I believe that is really a very honest book. You see, if the thing is really so, the British have really very badly violated their obligations. Such kind of things as I have told you did, it seems to me, really happen.

The most important thing for international relations is confidence in international rule. I believe that complete honesty in the procedure is the most important thing to create confidence. So I may add that I believe that the frame of

mind of the colonial people of the British is so rigid that I am absolutely convinced that any councils will not have any effect.

I think commissions like this are like a smoke-screen to show good will. I believe that the Palestine people, under severe influence of the United Nations, will be able to create a better state of affairs. But, with the British rule as it is, I believe it is impossible to find a real remedy. I may be wrong, but that is my conviction.

Dr. Ayedelotte: It may be that you will find more people who will agree with you in Britain than anywhere else.

(Laughter.)

I should like to ask you for your advice. We are a little discouraged by your notion that whatever we do will not make matters different, but nevertheless we must proceed on the assumption that we must do our best.

Dr. Einstein: Yes.

Dr. Ayedelotte: One of the things which we must do is to figure out some kind of a report or some kind of advice with reference to what the authority shall be, or who is to have authority over Palestine. Now, do you think that the United Nations or some other outside authority should force the Arabs to allow unlimited immigration into Palestine, or do you think they should take the Arab point of view into consideration and close off immigration? Just what do you

think should be done with Palestine by whatever power has the trusteeship over it?

14 Dr. Einstein: Of course, it is very difficult to answer such a question in a general way. I believe that such a government should be composed for the people concerned. It should be handled from the human standpoint of the matter. For instance, there is a great difficulty with the refugees. Of course, there should be done something about them. I believe it is natural to bring the bulk of them to Palestine. In Palestine the Jews who are already there will take care of the ones that are brought in. It is not true that they will be in trouble with the Arabs. I believe that such kind of action should not be taken from a political standpoint but from a human standpoint. It would be best for the population of Palestine to feed those people and take care of them. I believe it is quite natural that they can take into their homes people who have no place to stay.

Dr. Ayedelotte: What would you do if the Arabs refused to consent to bringing these refugees to Palestine? Suppose the Arab population were prepared to resist it by force; would you compel them by force to receive the refugees?

Dr. Einstein: That will never be the case if there is not politics. But there are not only Arab politicians, but Jewish politicians, as well.

Mr. McDonald: Would you eliminate the Jewish and Arab

politicians both?

Dr. Einstein: No; you cannot eliminate them. If you eliminate one, ten others grow up in their place. (Laughter.)

Dr. Ayedelotte: An Arab was talking this afternoon before you came in, and he is a man who has lived in Palestine the greater part of his life. He contends that the Arabs are afraid, that they need no instigation to resist Jewish immigration. They are afraid that the Zionists are trying to develop a majority in Palestine so that they will have political control. Of course, the Arabs are in the majority now, but they fear that the Jews may attain a majority and then they would be in the minority.

Dr. Einstein: But who has created that mentality? If the people work together and stay in peace together, they will not care anything about the idea of who has the biggest number. The number doesn't count if it is not politically activated. Nobody is interested in how many people in the United States speak French, German, English, or Italian. It is all in the minds of the people.

Mr. Crossman: Do you believe that what you have complained about has been caused by the British people in Palestine?

Dr. Einstein: I do not say that it is the British alone.

Mr. Crossman: No, but you feel that the state of mind to which you refer is now there.

Dr. Einstein: I do.

Mr. Crossman: And you think the state of mind is sufficiently there to produce people who are willing to shoot each other?

Dr. Einstein: No.

Mr. Crossman: But they are shooting each other.

Dr. Einstein: Yes.

Mr. Crossman: Shooting is taking place there and has taken place.

Dr. Einstein: Yes.

Mr. Crossman: Is a figment of the imagination of the newspaper editors, or is it a fact?

Dr. Einstein: Yes; they are shooting each other over there.

Mr. Crossman: Then the state of mind is sufficient for shooting.

Dr. Einstein: No; you see, what is happening now in Palestine is that, of course, they see their mother and their father and their brother being sent out of Europe, and the government takes over their country, and no place left for them to go.

Mr. Crossman: But from the point of view of the British, the motive does not affect you. Suppose you were to reverse the situation and allow unrestricted immigration into Palestine, and allowed the Jews to come in, is it just a British

imperialistic fiction which suggests to you that the Arabs might shoot?

Dr. Einstein: No; it is not a fiction.

Mr. Crossman: It is not a fiction, it is a fact. But if you were to recommend sending the Jews there to Palestine, despite the danger of the Arabs shooting--

Dr. Einstein: I believe that danger is not so great as some people think it is.

Mr. Crossman: Then, under this terrible British imperialism, this terrible British realism, the people in Palestine will be stimulated to further shooting--

Dr. Einstein: Oh, no; it will not be bad.

Mr. Crossman: Oh, it is not going to be so wicked from now on?

Dr. Einstein: No. There is an enmity between nationalities. but it is not enough to make them shoot each other.

Mr. Crossman: But in the past you think that the British have aroused such hatred that the Arabs will now continue to hate the Jewish immigrants but will not shoot them?

Dr. Einstein: Yes.

Mr. Crossman: You think the British are so clever that they can control to a degree the hatred of the Arabs for the Jews, but that the Arabs will not shoot them.

Dr. Einstein: Oh, now -- (Laughter)

Mr. Crossman: You are certainly a great admirer of my

country.

Another question. Since the British are, according to your point of view, completely incompetent to rule in the various parts of the world where they have ruled --

Dr. Einstein: No, oh, no.

Mr. Crossman: Well, at least in Palestine -- you say they should not rule Palestine. Would you be prepared to advocate publicly that the American people should take over the mandate and assume full military responsibility for unlimited Jewish immigration, and thereby prove --

Dr. Einstein: No, I would not do that. I would be King of Palestine if I did that. God forbid! (Laughter.)

Mr. Crossman: Your point of view is that you wish to blame the British, and you are not prepared to suggest that the other great democracies, since we have failed, should take responsibility for carrying out the job which we have failed to do. We have failed, according to you. Why shouldn't you take the responsibility and show how wrong we are?

Mr. McDonald: When he says "you," he means the United States.

Mr. Crossman: Yes; the United States.

Dr. Einstein: It should be done under an international regime.

Mr. Crossman: Well, what soldiers should go there to Palestine to carry out the American policy?

Dr. Einstein: There should be a mixed organization.

Mr. Crossman: So the officials should be of 54 nations, or 6 or 5, or 2?

Dr. Einstein: I think it should be arranged.

Mr. Crossman: But you would not advise the United States of America to do it alone?

Dr. Einstein: No.

Mr. Crossman: You think it is too much for one nation to do?

Dr. Einstein: No; I believe that any enterprise that is not too difficult, if successfully done, could be done by an international organization.

Mr. Crossman: In view of the tremendous success of the rule in Austria, and in order to help your Jewish friends introduce the same type of Jewish organization in Palestine, you are prepared--

Dr. Einstein: No; I would take only a part of Palestine for governing the land, and do it like other countries do it. I would not take a democratic basis in the American sense, for the circumstances are different.

Mr. Crossman: But you would permit, perhaps, a Frenchman, a Russian, an American, an Englishman, and an Arab, all to sit in on a council together and formulate the policies to be carried out in the government of Palestine?

Dr. Einstein: Yes; but I would not take so many people

as that. (Laughter)

I mean there is always someone who has to keep the line of behavior.

Mr. Crossman: Well, we rather felt that inasmuch as we had failed, you Americans should take the executive and perhaps the military responsibility, and then prove whether your theory is right.

Judge Hutcheson: I doubt if that is the way you would authorize the Americans to do it. (Laughter)

Dr. Einstein: Of course, the British are not responsible for the things they have had no influence in. That is my feeling about it.

Dr. Ayedelotte: Dr. Einstein, what is your attitude toward the idea of a political Zionism, a political Jewish state, as versus a cultural center? There are two conceptions of Palestine. You understand them.

Dr. Einstein: Yes. I was never in favor of a state.

Judge Hutcheson: Dr. Einstein, many years ago I undertook to make a speech on relativity. (Laughter)

I am not sure that I had not a much better scientific and general acquaintance with relativity than perhaps you have with all these general Palestine problems. But I have my view of relativity and you have yours of Palestine. (Laughter)

But there is a question which, as a citizen of the world, in a way, as I regard you -- I have considerable respect for

your ability to impress the world as you have done it -- I do not know how you have done it, but you have impressed the world -- (laughter) I know that you do not live in a small, narrow, bigoted, pestilential, partisan attitude. You do not, do you?

Dr. Einstein: No, sir; I never have.

Judge Hutcheson: No, you never have.

Dr. Einstein: No.

Judge Hutcheson: Now, your views about the British shenanigans are shared by many, not only with reference to Palestine, but Ireland and many other countries, so we need not debate that matter. I have never had much experience with it and know little about it. But those things are personal, as you started out to say. To some extent, you are like an Irishman. The British made a mess.

Dr. Einstein: An Irishman?

Judge Hutcheson: Yes. (Prolonged laughter)

Dr. Einstein: The Irishmen have for a long time suffered under your rule. I have not. (Laughter)

Judge Hutcheson: I am not a Britisher. I am an American.

Dr. Einstein: Oh, excuse me. (Laughter)

Judge Hutcheson: Now we will come to my question. It seems to us who are, as you say, just another committee to come and go -- but, I am a Texan and I do not take it in that way. We are going to try to do something about it.

Dr. Einstein: Good.

Judge Hutcheson: It has been told to our committee by the Zionists that the passionate heart of Jewry will never be satisfied until they have a Jewish state in Palestine. It is contended, I suppose, that they must have a majority over the Arabs. It has been told to us by the Arab representatives that the Arabs are not going to permit any such condition as that, that they will not permit having themselves converted from a majority into a minority.

Dr. Einstein: Yes.

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Judge Hutcheson: I have asked these various persons if it is essential to the right or the privilege of Jews to go to Palestine, if it is essential to real Zionism, leaving out of the picture the political side of the question, that a setup be fixed so that the Jews may have a Jewish state and a Jewish majority without regard to the Arab view. Do you share that point of view, or do you think the matter can be handled on any other basis?

Dr. Einstein: Yes, absolutely. The state idea is not according to my heart. I cannot understand why it is needed. It is connected with many difficulties and a narrow-mindedness. I believe it is bad.

Judge Hutcheson: Isn't it spiritual and ethical -- I do not mean this particular Zionist movement, I do not mean the idea of insisting that a Jewish state must be created --

isn't it anachronistic?

Dr. Einstein: In my opinion, yes. I am against it, but not for the same reasons that Mr. Rosenwald has stated.

Judge Hutcheson: No. Well, I am obliged to you.

Mr. Aydelotte: Mr. Buxton: Professor, in your general impeachment of British colonial rule, you did not quite explain why it is to the interest of the British to stir up strife over a country where the responsibility of governing the country rests with them. Why should they make their own task more difficult?

Dr. Einstein: If people are united between each other and they come to the idea that they do not need the foreign rule, then they want to make themselves independent. Every country with a decent standard of living will have, of course, its idea and will strive forward. So an enduring rule is not impossible if you keep down the burden of the people. That is my thesis.

Mr. Aydelotte: What you are now saying is not very convincing because the British nation has for a long time specialized in bringing independence to other nations, and has given independence to a large number of colonies which they formerly ruled. Of course, the British do not rule Palestine. They have a mandate--

Dr. Einstein: Unhappily. (Laughter)

Mr. Aydelotte: But, after all, they have to make an annual report. I do not quite get your idea of why

the situation in Palestine is maintained as an advantage to the British.

Dr. Einstein: At the present time the whole situation makes for trouble. A little enmity is good for everybody, but much is not. (Laughter)

Mr. Crum: Dr. Einstein, you have given us a great deal of information, as you call it, about the British.

Dr. Einstein: Yes.

Mr. Crum: I should like to have you accept my statement on the basis of personal experience with this Commission. Our British and American colleagues are doing everything in their power to find a speedy solution of the Palestine problem. I for one think it wrong for you, as a citizen of the world, to say that this committee is a smoke-screen, because, believe me, sir, it is not.

Dr. Einstein: How can you know it is not?

Mr. Crum: I know it from my own activities.

Dr. Einstein: Yes, but you estimate it is not a smoke-screen. I believe the Colonial Office makes it that.

Mr. Crum: May I suggest, Doctor, that you judge us by the actions following the recommendations of the committee.

Dr. Einstein: I would be glad to be wrong. Nobody would be more elated than I.

(Thereupon the committee adjourned.)